

# Between Hope & Despair



Pakistan Participatory Poverty Assessment  
**FATA Report**

# **Pakistan Participatory Poverty Assessment**

## **Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) Report**

**September 2003**

*This report is dedicated to the memory of  
Omar Asghar Khan  
who was an outstanding, courageous and committed champion  
of the rights and well-being of the poor*

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## List of Abbreviations

<i>AJK</i>	Azad Jammu and Kashmir
<i>BHU</i>	Basic Health Unit (government-run)
<i>CBO</i>	Community Based Organisation
<i>DAC</i>	Development Assistance Committee
<i>DFID</i>	Department for International Development
<i>FANA</i>	Federally Administered Northern Areas
<i>FATA</i>	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
<i>FBS</i>	Federal Bureau of Statistics
<i>FCR</i>	Frontier Crimes Regulation
<i>KPP</i>	Khushal Pakistan Programme
<i>LHV</i>	Lady Health Visitor
<i>NGO</i>	Non-Governmental Organisation
<i>NWFP</i>	North West Frontier Province
<i>ODI</i>	Overseas Development Institute
<i>OPM</i>	Oxford Policy Management
<i>PBS</i>	Provincial Bureau of Statistics
<i>PIHS</i>	Pakistan Integrated Household Survey
<i>PPA</i>	Participatory Poverty Assessment
<i>PRA</i>	Participatory Reflection and Action
<i>PRSP</i>	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
<i>TBA</i>	Traditional Birth Attendant
<i>UNDP</i>	United Nations Development Programme
<i>WAPDA</i>	Water and Power Development Authority

## Executive Summary

### Introduction

A participatory poverty assessment (PPA) is a process for including poor people's views in the analysis of poverty, and in the design of strategies to reduce it. A PPA has been taking place in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) since mid-2001. The PPA in FATA is part of a national PPA process being facilitated by governmental and non-governmental partners. It is intended to contribute to public debate and government thinking about poverty reduction in FATA as well as providing an input into the national PPA process.

A PPA starts from the point of view of poor and very poor people, giving voice to their concerns and in this way counter-balancing the top-down approach of most policy thinking. It also provides a set of local case studies – rich in contextual detail that emphasises the multidimensionality of poverty and the complexity and dynamics of local coping and adapting strategies – that complements well the information from other poverty related surveys. The combination of statistical information and the “voices” from a PPA provides a good basis for innovative thinking about reducing poverty.

### The PPA methodology

The Pakistan PPA involved participatory discussions, activities and analysis in two contrasting sub-sites in each of 54 urban and rural research sites (union councils/tehsils) throughout Pakistan and AJK. In FATA, PPA fieldwork was conducted in three tehsils, each with two contrasting sub-sites.

Sites were selected “purposively” in order to provide in-depth case studies that illuminated different agro-ecological and social contexts of poverty and livelihoods. The procedure for site selection was intended to ensure, among other things, that there was no systematic bias towards more accessible sites. However, the security and safety of the field teams was an overriding concern that was taken into account in applying the criteria.

The selection process in FATA involved three steps, at the area, agency and tehsil levels. At each level a facilitated and recorded “brainstorming” was organised with the participation of major stakeholders and key informants, including *tehsildars*, political agents, and the local *jirgas*. Due to tribal restrictions, women were not able to participate in the site selection process. At the area level, three agencies reflecting the agro-ecological diversity and ethnic composition in FATA were selected. Within each of these agencies, the poorest tehsil was then determined and from within this tehsil, the poorest and a better-off sub-site were selected. The final agencies, tehsils and sub-sites are shown in *Table 1*.

**Table 1: Agencies, sites and sub-sites in FATA**

Agency	Site (Tehsil)	Sub-site (village)	
		Poor	Better-off
Khyber	Mula Ghorri	Murad Dhand	Lawara Maina
Kurram	Parachinar	Zera Mali Khel	Ghoz Ghari
South Waziristan	Toi Khola	Spaley Porn	Gul Kach

A team of four members (two women and two men) was selected to conduct the fieldwork. Candidates for the field team came from government departments, non-government organisations (NGOs), and academic institutions. Selection was based on a set of criteria including experience in participatory methodologies, particularly Participatory Reflection and Action (PRA), understanding of socio-economic and political issues, willingness and ability to undertake tough fieldwork, skills in documentation and fluency in local languages. One team member was designated as the focal point responsible for ensuring the team completed the work and the smooth functioning of the logistics of fieldwork.

A specially designed two-phased training module was organised for the FATA fieldworkers together with fieldworkers from NWFP. The training focused on developing a shared understanding of the objectives and methods of the PPA. It enhanced the technical capacities of the fieldworkers in facilitating participatory analysis using PRA, including communication skills and self-awareness. The training also addressed the behaviour and attitudes of the fieldworkers, raising awareness of principles of respecting poor people, their knowledge and their capabilities.

During the fieldwork in each site, the field team sought views from a range of local people, especially those who could usually be regarded as marginalised and excluded from research, analysis and policy processes, for example the very poor, women, minority ethnic groups and the very old. In each sub-site, groups of local men and women analysed local poverty issues using PRA methodologies. The PPA field teams facilitated this process and also recorded the analysis in activity and site reports that are the main basis of this provincial synthesis report. Field teams also noted separately their own observations and experiences in these reports. Analysis from the field was complemented by data from secondary sources to enable a degree of triangulation of research results.

The Government of NWFP set up a management group for the PPAs in both NWFP and FATA consisting of: the Chief FATA; Deputy Secretary Rural Development, Planning, Environment and Development Department; representatives of SUNGI Development Foundation (lead NGO in FATA); and the PPA office in Islamabad. The management group worked under the NWFP Steering Committee headed by the Additional Chief Secretary, Planning and Development Department.

## Research questions

A livelihoods framework was used to 'bridge the gap' between realities at the grassroots level and the policy process. The participatory analysis conducted in all of the research sites focused on three basic research questions:

- Who are the poor (within each site) and who are the better off?
- What have been the principal changes affecting the area/group over different periods of time, and what factors have influenced these processes?
- What resources, socio-economic and gender relationships, organisations and institutions are relevant to the area/group?

The findings from these three questions were used, in combination, to answer a fourth question:

- What scope is there for improvement in public policies, institutions and regulatory frameworks, and what other changes would increase the opportunities open to poor people?

## Perceptions of poverty

Much is known about the causes of poverty. However, policies that affect poor people are often driven by prejudices and vested interests, and fail to consider external or structural causes of poverty. By beginning from the way actual groups of poor people describe their situation and their problems, the PPA seeks to avoid mistakes based on ignorance and the self-interest of the powerful. It works outwards from this articulation of poor people's realities to the analysis of more complex institutional problems and policy issues.

Whilst economic dimensions of poverty (ie lack of income, material possessions, or resources) were important to the poor in FATA, equally important were non-economic dimensions encompassing social, political and cultural identity. Poor people in FATA had a multidimensional perception of poverty incorporating aspects of human security, ownership of assets, powerlessness and income security.

The terms used to describe the poor and very poor in FATA clearly indicated the way poor people were seen. Common terms included *miskeen* (meek), *aajiz* (needy), *gareeb* (poor), *faqeer* (beggar) *bechara* (pitiable), *bebas* (helpless), *sokha* (penniless), *spera* (hungry or unfortunate), *tabah-u-barbad* (destroyed), *lova-daley* (alone, has no support), *nesthman* or *nesthmand* (owns nothing), *jagharh* (naked, has no clothes to wear), *khwaar* (frustrated), *jobal* (wounded or disabled), and *bebakht* (unlucky). All give a clear indication that analysts considered poverty as comprising lack of resources, lack of power, lack of support, and a lack of dignity and respect.

**Table 2: Characteristics of well-being categories, compiled from well-being analysis across the FATA PPA sites**

	Well-being category			
	Well off	Better off	Poor	Very poor
Social characteristics	Male with 3-4 wives <i>Malik Maulvi</i> Proud Respected Good physique Suffers from 'rich people's diseases' (diabetes / high blood pressure) Gives to charity / <i>zakat</i> Member of powerful tribe	Peaceful life Neither gives nor receives <i>zakat</i>	Has enemies Unhappy Anxious Unable to sleep Drinks black tea Often hungry Many dependants Bad health Debtor Belongs to a tribe with little or no influence Lives separately once married Member of powerless tribe (ie <i>Dotani / Suleman Khel</i> tribes in South Waziristan)	Widow with 5-6 dependant children No friends or relatives Hopeless Hungry Physically weak Viewed with contempt Unable to pay bride price ( <i>wulwar</i> ) Not called by their names Cannot sit with others on public transport
Assets	Land Crops 100-150 sheep Good house Fine clothes Jewellery Tractor Owns vehicle Surplus food (ghee, meat, milk) Capital of Rs.600,000	Some land 50 sheep Owns house Reasonable clothes Good health Scooter Enough food grain and bread Eats 2 meals / day Good health Access to nearby healthcare facilities Capital of Rs. 100,000-200,000	Very little land 1-2 livestock Does not own home Insufficient food Little money for healthcare - can access BHU No capital Bicycle No access to clean drinking water (women analysts)	Landless No livestock No food Low quality food No access to healthcare, even traditional health providers Few clothes (tattered and dirty) Worn-out or no shoes
Coping and livelihood strategies	Business Employment Lends money	Invest in business Can access credit Livestock rearing Selling clay pots Labour work	Inconsistent income Agricultural labour Off-farm labour Can sometimes access credit Depends on <i>zakat</i>	Eats dry bread Visits others to obtain food Depends on <i>zakat</i> Begs Steals Labour work
Political and social capital	Can participate in all social events Decision making power Access to government and decision makers	Access to government Sometimes invited to <i>jirga</i> Does not invite anyone or accept others' invitation	Has no decision-making power Cannot even express views	No voice Excluded from all social events and occasions Women denied the right to vote

Common indicators of poverty across all three sites in FATA included landlessness or ownership of just small areas of land; lack of livestock; little or no food; lack of nutritious food; tattered clothing and no shoes; poor quality or condition of house; unemployment; high dependency on others for food and income; women working to supplement household income; illhealth and disability; increased risk of conflict; lack of access to public services; lack of influence and powerlessness; and belonging to a powerless tribe.

*A widow with five or six children is poor because she has no income and is perpetually searching for support. (A group of poor and very poor men in Lawara Maina, Khyber Agency)*

Whilst the indicators above were common across the PPA sites, other indicators, or the emphasis placed upon indicators, differed both within and between communities. Female analysts, for example, perceived the lack of access to clean drinking water as an indicator of poverty – male analysts did not mention this at all.

Local analysis also demonstrated clearly that poverty status depended on gender, age, tribe/caste, religion, family structure and local conditions. Wealth ranking confirmed the fundamental importance of tribal identity in this area and confirmed the strong association of gender with poverty status, with women lacking power and influence within the household and community.

Analysts perceived three levels of poverty – community, household and individual. Whole communities could be poor due to isolation; within communities, households could be considered poorer due to ethnicity; and within households, individuals could be poor due to gender.

Indicators of higher levels of well-being included owning land, especially arable land; owning livestock; having financial capital; good quality homes; fine clothes and jewellery; and influence in decision-making processes. Another indicator was having a diet of rich food and surplus food all year round – well-off people were perceived to suffer from “rich people’s diseases” like diabetes and high blood pressure.

Analysts categorised people into four groups using participatory well-being ranking: well-off, better-off, poor, and very poor. Across all three sites and using analysts’ own locally defined criteria, approximately 7 per cent were perceived to be well-off; 24 per cent better-off; 49 per cent poor; and 20 per cent very poor.<sup>1</sup> However, poverty was not evenly distributed within communities: in the well-off, better-off, and poor categories men were in the majority; while in the very poor category, women formed a significant majority.

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<sup>1</sup> Aggregation of qualitative perception data is highly problematic because of the contextual nature of perceptions of data. These figures are intended to provide an indication of the overall incidence of poverty derived from well-being ranking.



## Socio-economic and gender relationships

Across the three PPA sites, women's lives were characterised by seclusion and restricted mobility; limited or no access to assets and resources; few or no rights; no influence in decision making, even regarding their own marriage; and gender-based violence. *Purdah* was strictly imposed on young girls and women. In the presence of other male members of the family, women were veiled even inside their own homes. In some cases, girls as young as 10-years old were expected to cover themselves. Women were expected to continue with their heavy workload while maintaining *purdah*.

Rigid tribal cultural norms severely restricted the mobility of women. Often women were not even allowed to visit homes of people belonging to other tribes in the same village. Movement outside the *mohalla* (neighbourhood) or village was restricted to attendance at a few social occasions, for instance funerals or weddings, and then only with their households. Women with illnesses or health problems were taken to nearby towns or to Peshawar for treatment but only when local remedies proved inadequate.

Higher levels of household poverty did increase the mobility of some women as they were compelled to seek income-earning or livelihood opportunities outside the household. Despite this, analysts perceived that restrictions on women's mobility were generally increasing due to the increased influence of the Taliban and their local allies.

Female participants stated that there were more restrictions on women at the time of the PPA than before. Women were not allowed to go even to the homes of relatives and had little opportunity to meet others.

The tradition of 'bride price' (*wulwar*) reduced the status of women to mere commodities, with women purchased from their families for prices ranging from Rs.100,000 to Rs.300,000. Women were seldom consulted on decisions regarding their marriage and often married off to unsuitable partners for the sake of *wulwar*.

Women were also given as compensation to settle disputes. For example, to settle a murder case the *jirga* might issue a verdict in which five or six girls from the family of the murderer were "married" into the family of the victim as compensation for the crime. Local analysis revealed that girls or women given as compensation were treated very badly in the homes of their husbands, sometimes not even allowed to meet their own families after their marriage and completely at the mercy of their in-laws.

In South Waziristan, the custom of *Spin Thore* allowed for any couple suspected of having an illicit relationship to be murdered. Often the alleged suspicion of an illicit relationship was perceived to be a cover for more sinister motives – land inheritance was often seen as the real motive behind the murder.

Tribal identity was a key determinant of power in FATA. Individuals and households from non-influential tribes and clans were marginalised as the degree of influence in decision-making processes depended on tribal identity. The *Dotani* and *Suleman Khel* tribes in the two South Waziristan sub-sites were poor due to their low share in the tribal *nikkat* system, under which rights of access to resources and services were allocated according to numbers of warriors in each tribe.

## **Local understandings of rights in FATA**

Across the PPA sites, local analysts clearly expressed their perceptions of rights along five broad lines: the right to survive; right to freedom; right to public services; right to income and employment; right of access to and control over assets and resources. Many of these rights were interdependent. However, analysts generally perceived that many people – especially poor people – were denied their rights.

The right to survive included having access to secure food, shelter, clothing, health, and peace. These were considered to be fundamental rights of all people.

Many analysts also stated that it was not enough to merely survive – equally important was the right to lead a dignified life. Clean drinking water, access to health and education facilities, and the provision of basic infrastructure, were all perceived to be basic right, however, the provision of these was also perceived to be wholly inadequate. Vital to livelihood strategies of the poor were the rights to income and employment, and the right of access to, and control over, resources. Apart from the very poor, most households owned at least small parcels of land.

Rights to justice and freedom were strongly articulated in FATA. Oppressive systems of governance and socio-cultural norms, however, denied these rights to many people. The Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR), which placed executive and judicial powers in a single authority, denied people their rights to fair and equitable justice and was prone to abuse. Under the FCR an entire tribe, sub-tribe or clan could be punished for a crime committed by an individual member. Local analysts in FATA believed that they had the right to free themselves of this oppression.

The freedom to make decisions was repeatedly identified as a fundamental right by diverse groups of analysts. This right was most commonly expressed in relation to choosing a marriage partner – a right that while denied to both men and women, was particularly denied to women as they were often given in marriage as compensation to settle disputes.

Freedom of expression and the right to vote were also critical rights often denied to the poor, and especially denied to women. The right to vote was only recently granted in the tribal areas, but social norms continued to deny this right to women. Even young men, however, were unable to fully exercise

their right to freedom of expression, and many analysts perceived that people were generally denied their fundamental political rights in FATA.

Equality in terms of access to political rights and resources is vital to increasing the well-being levels of the poor, and particularly women and minority social groups. Both men and women claimed that women, poor or well-off, were consistently denied their right to inheritance even though there was awareness that Islam gives them this right. Women also expressed their right to protection from violence and cruelty by men. In Khyber Agency women analysts complained about domestic violence, particularly by men involved in gambling. They said that if men lose when gambling, they fight with their wives, beat them, and at times even sell them to cover losses.

### **The vulnerability context in FATA**

The livelihoods of poor people are affected by a range of trends, shocks and seasonal shifts over which they have little or no control. In FATA, these included environmental, socio-cultural, and economic trends (such as deforestation or inflation); sudden shocks (such as floods or illness); and seasonal factors (such as harsh winters).

Environmental trends included the perceived steady decline in rainfall over the previous two decades and culminating in the persistent drought conditions in the six years immediately preceding the PPA. This had a severe impact on the livelihoods of the poor causing reduced agricultural yields, reduced livestock numbers and reduced availability of drinking water. These trends had different levels of impact on different social groups. The decrease in easily available drinking water affected women, particularly young women, the most as they had to travel further to collect drinking water for household use. The falls in agricultural production and livestock numbers affected young men the most, followed by young women.

Deforestation affected local people in multiple ways: they were increasingly deprived sources of income from forest and forest products; and access to fuelwood, fodder, wild fruits, and vegetables. Stocks of medicinal plants, which contributed to food security and health needs, were also reduced. Additionally, the risk and impact of floods was perceived to have increased due to declining forest cover.

The drought also reduced employment opportunities as livestock numbers fell and land remained uncultivated. In an area where non-agricultural employment was extremely limited, there was a trend of increasing numbers of unemployed people.

Price inflation had a severe impact on the poor in FATA. This had combined with increasing unemployment to depress household incomes below the cost of living. As a result the poor faced critical choices in their spending priorities between food, healthcare or education – all vital to increased levels of well-being and the ability to move out of poverty.

*The government continuously increases prices. We cannot buy basic necessities. The government should control prices so that we can survive. (A poor woman of Gul Kach, South Waziristan)*

In an area such as FATA where people were highly dependent on natural resources, seasonal changes played a significant role in livelihood management. Expenditure outlays and sources of difficulty such as food shortages also tended to be seasonal. The interaction of these factors meant that many poor households experienced particular stress, and consequent dangers of permanent impoverishment, at particular times of the year.

During winter, shortages of water and fuelwood increased, while employment opportunities, and hence income, fell. Water shortages increased the workload of women as they were responsible for fetching water. Poor households relied heavily on credit to survive this period of increased stress. In the summer and monsoon months (May to September) high temperatures, hailstorms and rain caused difficulties for the poor. Workloads increased, food shortages occurred and crop diseases increased. Again, the poor increased their use of credit to cope with seasonal difficulties in the summer.

One sudden shock such as the illness or death of an income earner, or a natural disaster, can initiate a vicious circle of asset liquidation and debt from which it is difficult if not impossible to escape. All but the very wealthiest of households are vulnerable to these unexpected events and their consequences. Shocks affect men and women, the old and the young, in different ways. Often, the long-term effect of shocks, and of some of the coping strategies adopted, is to reduce the asset base of poor households, undermining any improvements in well-being that people might have enjoyed and making them even more vulnerable and liable to fall into extreme poverty in the future.

Some of the most severe environmental shocks affecting people in FATA included sudden flooding, death of livestock and crop failure. Flooding of the River Gomal caused loss of lives and livestock, damaged crops, eroded soil, and reduced soil fertility. However, analysts in Gul Kach also said that there were sometimes benefits from the floods – logs were brought down in their flow increasing fuelwood availability, and if the timing of the floods was right it provided an important source of irrigation water for crops. The frequency of floods was perceived to be decreasing as a result of decreasing levels of rainfall.

Human shocks included the death or illness of a household member, especially a male head of household or income earner. Women generally had extremely limited assets and resources to fall back on if they were widowed. Being a widow with no support, or with many dependents, was an indicator of poverty across the sites.

## Assets and livelihood strategies

Vulnerability is linked to people's ability to invest in or draw down on their assets in the face of shocks, trends and seasonal shifts such as those outlined above. The livelihoods framework uses a range of assets or "capitals" (natural, human, produced, social and political) that poor people may have access to in various ways to produce a livelihood. Livelihood strategies are only sustainable when they maintain or build up people's asset base.

Local analysts in FATA analysed the access they had to various assets and the livelihood strategies they were able to adopt in order to cope with or adapt to shocks and changes in their lives. Over the past decades, analysts perceived that some aspects of life had improved – for instance employment opportunities increased between the 1970s and 1980s. However, some improvements were only temporary (employment opportunities plummeted during the 1990s) and most others had continuously declined since the 1970s, particularly for marginalised individuals and groups.

Good quality and accessible natural resources were crucial to determining livelihood strategies in FATA. Dependence on natural capital remained high in the PPA sites despite the depletion and degradation of many of these resources over the few decades preceding the PPA. In Kurram and South Waziristan, farming remained the preferred source of livelihood and most households owned small areas of land. In Khyber, most land was *barani* (rain-fed) and had become barren or uncultivable due to drought.

Marble mines in Khyber provided important employment opportunities for poor men. Better-off men were also involved in the trade of marble. Similarly, in mountainous Kurram Agency, grey stones were an off-farm income source for the poor. But analysts in Zera Mali Khel (poorest sub-site in Kurram) complained that law enforcement agencies collected most of the stones and prevented access to local people.

Forests and forest products had provided the poor with income opportunities in the past by selling fuelwood and fodder. In the forested areas of South Waziristan and Kurram, picking and selling medicinal plants found in the area was also an important source of income for women. Local people, generally from better-off tribes, owned the forests in all sites. For example, the *Mula Gori* tribe in Lawara Maina (Khyber Agency) owned the forest in that sub-site. However, deforestation was prevalent across the sub-sites with persistent drought, increasing population pressure and indiscriminate cutting by Afghan refugees from the 1980s onwards perceived as the main causes.

In all three PPA sites there was an abysmal lack of adequate public services that could contribute to increased levels of human capital. Only two Basic Health Units (BHUs) were available in six sub-sites – one was in Murad Dhand (poor sub-site in Khyber) but was just a building with no staff or facilities; and the other was in Ghoz Ghari (better-off sub-site in Kurram) and this too was in a ghost-like condition with only a Traditional Birth Attendant

(TBA) and an EPI technician. There were no public health facilities in South Waziristan. In Lawara Maina (better-off sub-site in Khyber) there was an ill-equipped hospital served by staff on an irregular basis.

Access to educational facilities was little better, with the poorer sub-sites worse off. A wide disparity existed between access to education for boys and girls. In the three poor sub-sites there was just one government primary school for girls compared to three primary schools and a *maktab* (religious) school for boys. In all cases the quality of education was considered poor. In Ghaz Ghari (better-off sub-site in Kurram) the school teacher for the primary school for girls had been absent for the past several years. The few private schools established in the area were not accessible to the poor due to high costs.

Most sites were not accessible by metalled roads, thus further restricting mobility and access to markets and basic services. In some cases like Murad Dhand (poor sub-site in Khyber) and Zera Mali Khel (poor sub-site in Kurram) local people had constructed a non-metalled road. In South Waziristan a non-metalled road enabled access to Afghanistan. Electricity was available to some sub-sites. However, analysts complained of consistent low voltage and excessive load shedding, sometimes lasting for many days or even weeks.

Access to affordable credit was important for the livelihood strategies of the poor – in FATA, poor people used credit to meet healthcare expenses, to pay *wulwar*, to pay fines imposed under the FCR, and to pay for losses in gambling. In all three sites there was no access to formal credit facilities. Relatives and neighbours were the only source of credit for local people. Household purchases (sugar, rice, flour, etc) were also made on credit extended by shopkeepers.

The most striking form of social capital in FATA was based on tribal and clan identity. These identities were strong and dominated many aspects of local people's lives. Tribal identities influenced decisions over where people lived, whom they married, and who was supported in a conflict. Tribal identities also defined voting patterns.

At both community level and within the household, being a woman in FATA generally meant having less access to resources than men. Women had less access to education and basic healthcare, lower mobility, less influence in decision-making, and lower status than men. Women had limited access to, and even less control over or ownership of, natural capital, particularly land. Despite both religious and state laws, women were denied the right to inheritance of land. Restricted mobility contributed to limited access to basic services in health and education, although access had increased; and a lack of human and produced capital decreased opportunities for women to realise their potential.

Women had limited levels of social capital and extremely low levels of political capital. Women's identity was linked with that of their closest male family

member – fathers, brothers or husbands. As the male-dominated tribal identity is the key determinant of social capital, women reflected this capital as an appendage to males rather than in their own right. Women's access to political capital was perhaps the most restricted. Women had no significant role in decision-making. They had little say in issues that affected themselves, their households, or the community.

Tribal identities also determined a household's access to charity, as people tended to help their own tribes in times of need. This was particularly relevant considering the almost complete failure of *zakat* or publicly provided safety nets to work effectively and fairly.

*I am widow. The tehsildar called me to his office twice. He checked the national identity cards belonging to my late husband and myself. He promised me welfare funds. But I have not received any support. I lead a miserable life. (A widow in Spaley Porn, Khyber)*

### **Political capital and institutional dynamics**

Political capital in the FATA sub-sites was heavily concentrated in the hands of just a few people. Tribal identity along with gender and age were key factors in determining power and influence. Greater power led to increased affluence, which in turn increased influence. A middle-aged or elderly male from an influential tribe presents the profile of a powerful individual. Influential households belonged to dominant tribes with economic power. Powerful individuals and households dominated decision-making processes, and had primacy on access to and control over resources and opportunities.

The PPA confirmed the importance of the tribal *nikkat* system, under which rights of access to and control over resources and services were allocated according to the number of warriors in each tribe. This allocation was used for division of private and public resources and services. Even spoils from a robbery were given to tribes according to the ratio determined by the *nikkat* system. The government also used ratios assigned by the *nikkat* system for allocating development schemes.

Religious identity and affiliation with religio-political groups had increasingly determined power status, although it remained far less dominant than traditional tribal identities. In the Kurram site, close to the border with Afghanistan, differences between the two main sects, Shias and Sunnis, reportedly instigated by non-local interests had led to some violent clashes. Since the mid-1990s, Afghanistan's Taliban and their local allies were exercising influence in South Waziristan and in some parts of Kurram (particularly in the better-off sub-site, Ghaz Ghari). They imposed their rules and issued *fatwas* (religious diktat) on local people. For example, the Taliban and some local *maulvis* issued a *fatwa* prohibiting any interaction with NGOs. The *fatwa* called for the murder of NGO workers if seen anywhere in South Waziristan.

The *jirga* was the main decision making forum in the PPA sites. It was highly influential although its membership was restricted to men from powerful tribes. Women were not allowed entry into the *jirga*. Men from less influential tribes and households were also generally ignored. The lack of effectiveness and credibility of the judicial system increased the dominance of the *jirga* that also served as the main conflict resolution forum.

*The jirga consists of shaitans (devils). They do not provide justice to the poor. They favour the rich. (A poor woman in Murad Dhand, Khyber Agency)*

Land disputes were the main cause of conflicts in all three sites. Access to common property also caused clashes. In some areas of Kurram sectarian strife had been experienced in the recent past. Conflicts were liable to draw in the involvement of the entire tribe or sub-tribe of conflicting households.

Insecurity, or an inability to access and obtain justice, kept the poor in poverty and could push even the better-off into poverty. The *maliks* (key intermediaries between the local population and the government) were in charge of law and order, and all public sector interventions. This made them, and the tribes they belonged to, very powerful. The number of *maliks* selected by the government and local people from each tribe also conformed to the ratios apportioned under the *nikkat* system.

## **Policy recommendations and implications**

The FATA PPA report concludes with a set of policy recommendations based on the expressed policy priorities of poor local analysts, and PPA fieldworkers' and report writers' interpretations of information gathered during the full range of PPA activities. These are summarised below along four broad lines to be considered in the formulation of poverty reduction policies and strategies.

### **Increasing access to and control over a diverse range of resources and assets**

- Interventions to support and strengthen livelihoods, and reduce poverty, should not focus exclusively on one type of asset or "capital"
- Effective policies for managing natural resources are essential to reducing poverty in FATA
- The government should examine policies and strategies to ensure equitable access to, and control over, natural resources, including addressing the right of women to inherit land
- The government should examine how to provide adequate and appropriate agricultural support and irrigation services
- Policy makers should consider the potential for the sustainable use of non-agricultural natural resources, including medicinal plants and mineral resources



- Access to affordable education and healthcare must be equal for all, regardless of gender, tribe or social status
- Provision of education (including post-primary) and health care (including reproductive health care) to women and girls should be given high priority
- The quality of basic services must be monitored and improved – staff absenteeism must be eliminated
- Effective mechanisms for ensuring adequate and affordable access to safe drinking water should be examined by policy-makers

### **Reducing vulnerability and providing adequate social protection**

- The government should take a broad view of social protection to include risk reduction, impact mitigation and coping strategies
- Current formal safety net provision should be improved by increasing funding, transparency and accountability
- The government should examine other possible mechanisms for providing social protection, including support for traditional tribal mechanisms

### **Eliminating discrimination based on gender or tribal identity**

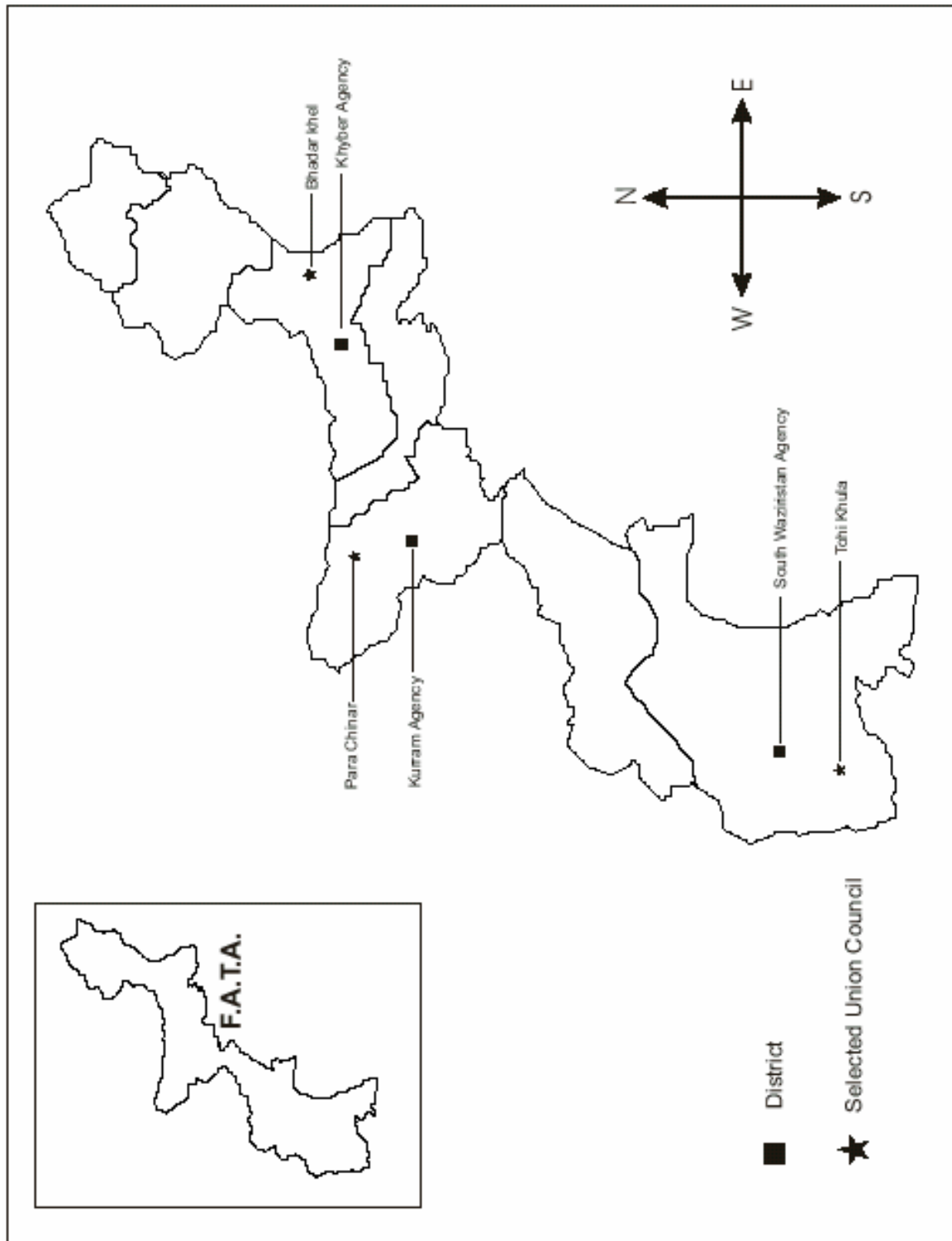
- Gender-based discrimination must be considered in all policy and strategy formulation to ensure that women benefit fully and are not marginalised further
- Both supply side and demand side constraints on the access of women to basic services must be addressed
- The practice of bride price, which results in the commodification of women, must be addressed
- Strong and enforceable laws must be *implemented* to eliminate domestic violence against women
- The government must ensure that minority groups are not discriminated against in the provision of social services, employment opportunities, or in the dispensation of justice
- The government should examine policies to reduce the influence of the *nikkat* system on the allocation and distribution of resources and rights, and particularly government services and programmes
- Cultural and traditional discrimination must be addressed through strong and effective policies and strategies backed by the political and judicial will to implement them fully

### **Ensuring equal access to justice regardless of gender, tribe or social status**

- Formal institutions providing justice should be made more effective and transparent

- The government should examine policies to ensure that affordable and fair justice for the poor and marginalised, particularly women, is increased
- The Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) must be seriously reviewed to eliminate the injustices which it inflicts on innocent people – for instance, whole tribes should not be punished for the crimes of individual members
- The government should examine strategies to prevent the exchange of women in the resolution of disputes and the enforcement of justice through informal or semi-formal institutions, for instance the *jirga*
- Policy makers should consider strategies to increase the representativeness of the *jirga* as a provider of justice – the exclusion of women and minority tribes must be addressed

## Map of FATA showing field sites



# CHAPTER ONE – INCLUDING THE POOR

## 1.1 Introduction

In 1998, the PPA design mission visited NWFP and introduced the idea of PPA to the NWFP Government and other stakeholders in the province. During these discussions, it was agreed that FATA would be treated as a separate area rather than be included as part of the PPA in NWFP.

In 2001 the process was restarted and meetings were held with senior government officials in the Planning & Development Department of NWFP to initiate the PPA. The Government of NWFP set up a management group for the PPA in NWFP and FATA consisting of the Chief FATA (focal point), the Deputy Secretary, Rural Development, Planning, Environment and Development Department, and representatives of SUNGI Development Foundation (lead NGO in NWFP) and the PPA office in Islamabad. This group was responsible for the overall management of the fieldwork in NWFP and FATA. The management group worked under the NWFP Steering Committee headed by the Additional Chief Secretary, Planning and Development.

In April-May 2001, 3 weeks training of the field workers for the PPA in NWFP and FATA was conducted. Fieldwork started in May 2001 and finished by December 2001. This included the entire process from site selection, to training of the field workers, the pilot study in the field, fieldwork in FATA, editing of reports and the FATA synthesis workshop. This chapter provides a background to the process of the PPA in FATA and puts it into the context of the PPA in Pakistan.

## 1.2 What is a PPA and who is it for?

A participatory poverty assessment, or PPA, has been defined as *an instrument for including poor people's views in the analysis of poverty, and in the formulation of strategies to reduce it*. A PPA is a process that starts with grass-roots participatory analysis and dialogue, and culminates in better policies and more effective action for poverty reduction.

A PPA is not just a new type of study of poverty and its causes. It aims to achieve four things:

- better understanding of poverty;
- new constituencies for anti-poverty action;
- enhanced accountability to poor people; and
- more effective policies and action.

PPAs can strengthen poverty reduction programmes in a number of ways. First, *they enrich and broaden the understanding of poverty by including the analysis of the poor themselves*. They enable policymakers to get the views of the poor on a wide range of issues from the way poverty is experienced to the

effectiveness of specific poverty programmes. In particular, if they can move on from “Who are the Poor?” and provide insight into the impact of policies and programmes then they can be particularly useful for policymakers.

Second, participatory methods *can provide a check on the conclusions drawn on quantitative studies*. In other words, they can contribute to “ground-truthing” the findings from household surveys or point to anomalies that call for further investigation by other methods. The principle of triangulation provides support for the use of a strong combination of methods.

Third, they involve the poor in a *process with government and civil society that can result in a change in policies and programmes*. A review of PPA findings suggested that the depth and breadth of stakeholder involvement was a factor in both the quality of the assessment and its effectiveness as an influence on poverty (Norton, 1998). When the PPA process has been successful, it can create new relationships between policymakers and poor communities.

In the Pakistan PPA, wide stakeholder participation was sought. Its design considers the poor as the key primary stakeholders of PPAs. Other primary stakeholders in Pakistan’s PPA include policy makers at the federal, provincial, and district government levels, and NGOs. Secondary stakeholders include public opinion and image-makers, researchers and academics.

The PPA stakeholder partnership is important at three levels. First, it is important to develop a partnership between the key primary stakeholders, the poor, who experience poverty and other primary stakeholders including government and NGOs that are attempting to better understand it. This partnership is critical for achieving the PPA goals of deepening shared understanding of poverty and facilitating individual and collective stakeholder action to reduce it.

The second level of stakeholder partnership is between the government and NGO partners that are included as other primary stakeholders. The institutional mechanism for implementing the PPA in Pakistan was designed to facilitate the creation and strengthening of this level of partnership. However, for the partnership to deliver its expected outputs, all partners must share a common purpose and work together to achieve it. The partners must recognise interdependence and promote and demonstrate:

- mutual trust and respect;
- open and direct communication;
- sharing; and,
- mutual support.

The third level of partnership is between the primary and secondary stakeholders and seeks to build wide multi-stakeholder participation. A greater number of stakeholders with greater ownership will create a constituency of support for the PPA that will directly impact on its effectiveness. Consistent emphasis on wide sharing of and feedback on the PPA’s objectives, process

and outputs will develop and strengthen a culture of inclusiveness and openness that is required for forging this level of partnership.

At the same time, a number of limitations with respect to PPAs must be noted. The first is a limitation of the method whilst the second is perception. First, when fieldwork is undertaken in a number of non-statistically representative case study communities, care must be taken when making generalisations. PPAs can point to the existence of common concerns or problems that the poor may face across communities but the statistical distribution of these problems can only be verified through a survey. In sum, PPAs are good at broadening our depth of understanding of issues but cannot provide data in the sense that a certain percentage of the population experience a particular problem (like poor access to health care). As noted above, a combination of methods is required – ie PPAs and survey methods should be seen as complementary.

Second, as the method is often new and unfamiliar, there will sometimes be scepticism from those who see it as the poor relation of a household survey. Significantly, some will never accept that the poor are able to analyse the situation they endure or accept their views as a valid contribution to the debate on poverty.

### **1.3 Background to the Pakistan PPA**

The Pakistan PPA, which began in early 2001, can be divided into three stages: setting up the institutional framework; fieldwork; and, follow-up. The first stage included setting up the provincial and national steering committees as well as preparing the fieldwork guide and the training programme. The second stage covered training/pilot testing, fieldwork and documentation in each of Pakistan's provinces and areas. In the final stage, key findings were widely disseminated and followed up at province/area and national levels through a public dissemination programme.

The main outputs from the fieldwork stage of project will be:

- Four province, two area (FATA, FANA), one Pakistan and one AJK report; and,
- A film that will highlight the experiences of the poor.

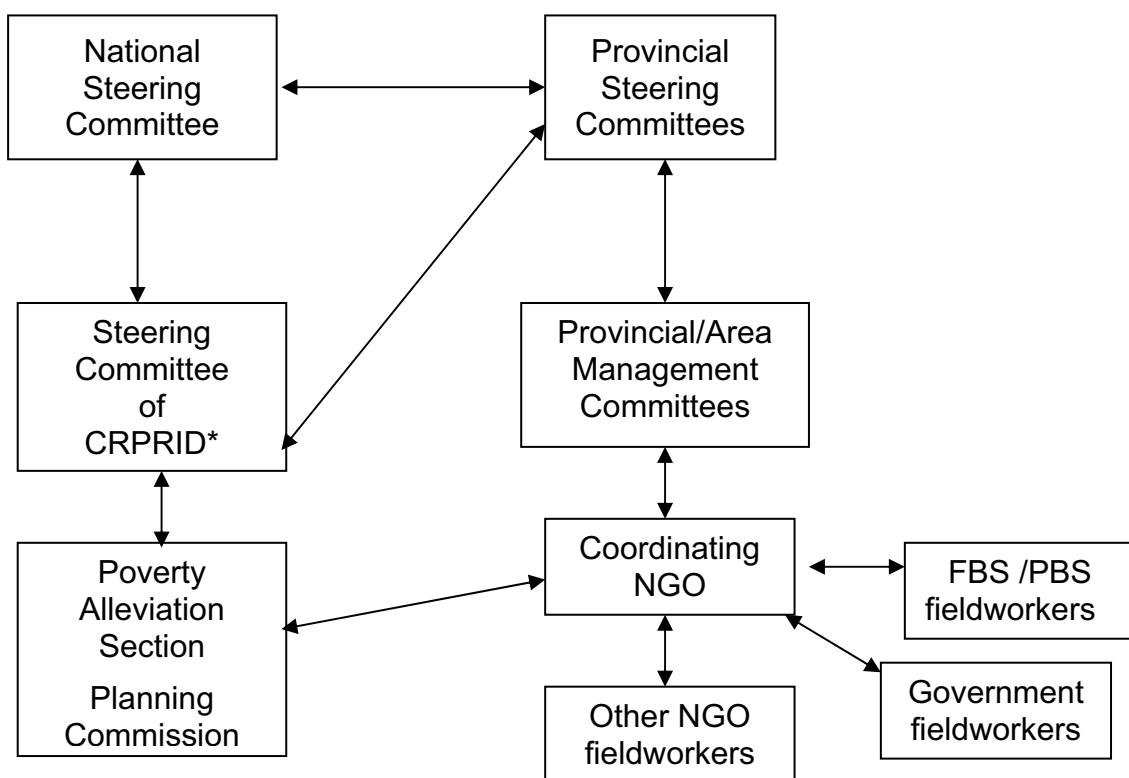
It follows that the PPA process needs to involve a lot more than field research in poor communities. The outputs of the follow-up stage will include:

- Dissemination programme: workshops for government, NGOs and donors, briefings for journalists, screenings of PPA video; and,
- Action plans to take forward the principal findings and recommendations at province and federal level.

The PPA's management was achieved through an institutional mechanism (*Figure 1.1*) designed with an aim to bring the primary public and private stakeholders together. Broadly, the steering committees at the national and provincial/area levels were included to play a key role in coordinating the design, implementation, and follow up of the PPA. It was expected that senior federal and provincial/area government representatives would chair these committees. The steering committees were expected to include representatives of all relevant government ministries/departments (including those at the district levels), PPA NGO partners, and other specialists. These committees were expected to also help coordination, as they would bring together all relevant institutional partners.

At the federal level, the Poverty Section of the Planning Commission, through the PPA Office based in Islamabad managed the PPA process. Oxford Policy Management (OPM), Overseas Development Institute (ODI), and a team of national consultants provided the PPA Office technical and managerial support.

**Figure 1.1: PPA institutional structure**



\*Centre for Research on Poverty Reduction and Income Distribution

At the provincial/area levels the institutional design of the PPA included a Provincial/Area Management Committee to manage the PPA process on a day-to-day basis. This committee was to report to the relevant Provincial/Area Steering Committee. In each province and in FATA/AJK/FANA, a coordinating

NGO was contracted to oversee and implement the training and fieldwork. The coordinating NGO was expected to chair the management committee comprising of representatives of the all organisations (government and NGOs) directly involved in the fieldwork for the PPA. It was expected that these committees would support information sharing and effective coordination of the implementation of the PPA at the provincial/area and field site levels. In FATA, the NGO SUNGI Development Foundation coordinated the PPA.

#### **1.4 The PPA and poverty policy**

Pakistan's policies to reduce poverty are organised around the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) framework and PRSPs are to be implemented at both federal and provincial level. Although the PPA was not designed as an instrument to specifically monitor the implementation and outcomes of the Pakistan PRSP it can be extremely useful to this end. The traditional approach to monitoring poverty has until relatively recently focused on estimating income or expenditure based poverty lines from household survey data. From this, poverty comparisons are made between regions and across time. However, in the last few years, the multidimensionality of poverty has been highlighted in the 2000/01 World Development Report, the DAC Poverty Guidelines and a number of Human Development Reports and Poverty Reports from UNDP (Booth and Lucas, 2001). As a result of this change in the perception of poverty, the framework for the monitoring of PRSPs requires a commitment to goals in addition to reducing the percentage under the poverty line. Specifically, this implies giving priority to a wide range of social indicators related to poverty in addition to income data from household expenditure surveys. It is also now usual to mention in PRSPs that there is a need for some sort of participatory poverty assessment exercise to deepen the understanding of poverty.

However, in their wide-ranging review of PRSPs, Booth and Lucas (2001) conclude that despite the fact that the multidimensionality of poverty is frequently cited, income poverty remains the central focus of monitoring in many countries. Given that income poverty is sometimes not directly related to other measures of well-being (for example nutritional status), the monitoring of a wider range of variables is very important. At the same time, few poverty monitoring systems have been successful in including the findings of participatory or qualitative research. In particular, there is a need to broaden the PPA agenda from "Who are the poor?" to "What is going wrong with the design and implementation of anti-poverty policies and programmes?" Thus, the onus is very much on the managers of PPAs to produce policy-relevant information. The Pakistan PPA aims to contribute to this end.

Before moving on to look at the FATA PPA, one general point about the quantitative/qualitative dichotomy with respect to poverty monitoring is worth making. Quantitative methods are not necessarily more rigorous or reliable than qualitative ones (Booth and Lucas, 2001). This may also not be the best way of formulating the distinction between the two approaches. An alternative is to use the terms contextual and non-contextual. Contextual information



requires interpretation in its social, economic and cultural context. An example would be access to health care being blocked by a local official. Non-contextual information is untainted by the particular context in which it is collected. An example of this would be that households below the poverty line in a particular country have high dependency ratios.

Booth and Lucas go on to argue that stressing the importance of context has proved useful in advocating the value of participatory techniques in poverty assessment and monitoring. In particular, it has an affinity with the tendency to focus on geographical locality as a key element in poverty monitoring.

## 1.5 The PPA process in FATA

The PPA process in Pakistan is based on close partnership and cooperation between all the participating stakeholders. This was reflected in the organisation of the process in FATA.

### 1.5.1 Partnership framework at province/area level

By February 2001, several critical steps had been taken to start the PPA in FATA. Meetings were held with the senior representatives of the Planning & Development Department in Peshawar. The selection of SUNGI Development Foundation as the Coordinating NGO for the PPA in FATA was approved. SUNGI was also given the role of a Coordinating NGO for the PPA in NWFP. The Government of NWFP set up a management group for the PPAs of NWFP and FATA consisting of Chief FATA (focal point), Deputy Secretary Rural Development, Planning, Environment and Development, and representatives of SUNGI Development Foundation and the PPA office in Islamabad. This group was responsible for the overall management of the fieldwork in NWFP and FATA. The management group worked under the NWFP Steering Committee headed by the Additional Chief Secretary, Planning and Development.

The first task accomplished by the Management Committee was the identification of the agro-ecological zones in FATA and the selection of the following three agencies:

**Table 1.1: Characteristics of selected agencies in FATA**

Agency	Characteristics
South Waziristan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rural</li> <li>• Mountainous</li> <li>• Irrigated/<i>barani</i></li> </ul>
Kurram	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rural</li> <li>• Mountainous</li> <li>• Close proximity with the Afghanistan border</li> </ul>
Khyber	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rural</li> <li>• Mountainous</li> <li>• Arid</li> </ul>

### 1.5.2 Selection and training of field teams

The field teams for the PPAs in NWFP and FATA were identified after a thorough selection process. Interested candidates from the government, NGOs, and academic institutions were interviewed in Peshawar and four were selected for conducting the PPA in FATA. A panel consisting of the PPA Focal Point in FATA (Mr Hammad Owais Agha), the PPA-NWFP and FATA Field Manager (Mr Mumtaz Tanoli) and the PPA Coordinator (Ms Rashida Dohad) conducted the interviews.

Selection was based on a set of criteria including experience in participatory methodology particularly Participatory Reflection and Action, understanding of socio-economic and political issues, willingness and ability to undertake tough fieldwork, skills in documentation, and fluency in local languages.

A specially designed two-phased training was held for the fieldworkers for the PPAs in NWFP and FATA. In the first phase a 12-day in-house training was held from 16<sup>th</sup> – 27<sup>th</sup> April 2001 in Abbottabad. In the second phase, a seven-day pilot to field test the PPA was held from 14<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> May 2001 in Village Bunj, Beeran Gali, District Abbottabad.

The training of the fieldworkers was intensive and encompassed three basic elements:

- Concept clarity: the what and why of PPA;
- Self-awareness: to link attitude towards the poor with possible internal prejudices which would need addressing, and to become conscious of the attributes such as communication and facilitation skills, and participatory approaches needed in a person practicing PRA; and,
- Skills development: including knowledge of the various tools of PRA, documentation and report writing skills.

The training focused on developing a shared understanding of the PPA, and its key concepts including livelihood, vulnerability, equity, rights, participation, and gender. It enhanced the capacity of fieldworkers in facilitating participatory analysis using Participatory Reflection and Action including communication skills and self-awareness. Fundamental emphasis was placed on respecting poor people, and their knowledge and capabilities. Training stressed the primacy of working in partnership with local communities and providing them with opportunities to apply their knowledge, experience and capabilities in the process of analysing their realities.

Training also sharpened the political sensitivity of PPA fieldworkers. This enabled fieldworkers to be conscious of the influence of power inequalities on what is said and the degree to which others accept it. Fieldworkers were made aware, too, of the various ways in which the process of joint analysis is shaped, unavoidably and not necessarily in a negative way, by community

perceptions of what the outsiders' motives and interests are. Special attention was given to enhancing gender sensitisation of fieldworkers. Understanding the link between gender discrimination and vulnerability at a conceptual level and developing skills to assess gender sensitisation at a personal and community level were key aspects of the training component on gender.

Fieldworkers were also assisted in developing their ability to record people's testimony and summarise the analysis they make of their reality without substantial loss or distortion.

Ethical issues in research were discussed with fieldworkers including obtaining informed consent and sharing findings with the community, especially members who actively participated in the PPA. Agreement was reached that the following points would be ensured when conducting PPA fieldwork in order to ensure an enabling, and not an exploitative, experience:

- informed consent would be obtained from all participants;
- undue time demands would not be placed on participants, especially women; and
- unrealistic expectations would not be raised in participating communities.

### **1.5.3 Fieldwork and documentation**

One team of four members, two males and two females, was formed for the PPA in FATA. One team member was designated as the focal point responsible for ensuring the team completed the work and the smooth functioning of the logistics of fieldwork.

Members of the PPA team in SUNGI and from the PPA office in Islamabad made several support visits during the fieldwork. These visits served three distinct purposes. First, they ensured good quality of work as members of the support visit reviewed fieldwork/documentation and also participated in the fieldwork. Second, they provided guidance in methodology, content, and documentation, if required. Finally, they provided moral support to the teams who worked in far-flung areas under difficult conditions. The government focal point and his team were also present during some of the support visits.

The field team worked in each site, and two contrasting communities (sub-sites) within each, for a month. The teams were divided into female and male sub-teams that worked separately with women and men. The field team was responsible for facilitating "joint analysis" that is the basis of the PRA approach. It was also responsible for the first step in recording it, the writing of activity reports. At the end of the fieldwork in both sub-sites (12 days each), the field team prepared a synthesis of this analysis in the form of a site report. The preparation of the site report generally took 4-6 days. Before beginning fieldwork in the next site all teams (NWFP and FATA) were brought together for a 1-2 day review session. The review sessions enabled teams to share their successes and shortcomings, and devise strategies for achieving

excellence. The review sessions were also useful in planning for fieldwork in the next site.

A synthesis workshop was held in Islamabad from 10<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> December 2001. The objective of the workshop was to review and synthesise the analysis of the fieldwork in FATA. The field team presented the main issues from each site and identified their order of priority.

## **1.6 Issues and methods**

The PPA aims to contribute to better-informed and more effective policies to reduce poverty in Pakistan. It aims to reach conclusions and recommendations for policy and action starting from an analysis of poverty and its causes by poor people in selected research sites. All the provincial/area PPAs used similar methods in their field sites and an effort was made to investigate a common set of basic issues, adapting these to the specific characteristics of the province or area.

### **1.6.1 Basic research questions**

To bridge the gap between grass-roots realities and the implications for policy makers, the PPA used a “livelihoods framework”. In each site, the analysis conducted with community members focussed on three basic research questions:

- Who are the poor and who are the better off? What assets do the poor have, and how do they construct their livelihoods?
- What have been the principal changes for the people over different periods of time, and what factors have influenced these processes?
- What resources, socio-economic and gender relationships, organisations and institutions are relevant to different groups among the poor?

The findings from these three questions were used, in combination, to answer a fourth question:

- What scope is there for improvement in public policies, institutions and regulatory frameworks, and what other changes would increase the opportunities open to poor people?

These were the basic guidelines that were followed in FATA. In addition, the field teams used a more detailed table of themes and issues in English and Urdu, referred to as the Fieldwork Framework. This is reproduced as Appendix 1. Many concepts and ideas used in the Fieldwork Framework were derived from international thinking about how poor people construct “sustainable livelihoods”, and how policies and institutions affect them.

### **1.6.2 Levels of analysis**

The Fieldwork Framework was used in two ways:

First, it identified a set of topics relevant to the fieldwork site, or the “community” or population group that occupies the area, as a whole. Even though these issues concerned everyone, efforts were made to enable each of the important sub-groups in the population to contribute to the analysis. As far as possible, views were sought separately from young and old women, young and old men, children, minority groups, etc. In other words, it was not assumed that there was a single “community view” on the subject, even if opinions were sometimes expressed in this way.

Second, the same or similar issues were analysed by each sub-group as they related to its own particular situation and experience. Reaching the very poor and enabling them to share in the analysis of their realities was an overarching aim of the PPA. Ensuring that this happened was less easy than handling obvious social differences, such as age and sex. However, relevant tools were used to facilitate local poverty analysis. This provided pointers to the field teams on how to reach the poorest people in the area.

### **1.6.3 Methodological principles**

Participatory Reflection and Action (PRA) was the primary approach used for the field research in the selected PPA sites. PRA is recognised as a robust methodology for generating policy insights from case-study evidence. It is based on two essential principles – “learning together” and “triangulation”.

Learning together refers to the approach of working in partnership with poor communities, providing them with opportunities to apply their knowledge, experience and capabilities to analyse their own realities. Triangulation is about taking advantage of multiple methods and sources of information to cross-check every interpretation and deepen understanding.

Like every method, PRA is recognised to have weaknesses as well as strengths. In the PPA training in FATA, particular attention was given to sharpening the sensitivity of fieldworkers to the possible pitfalls they would encounter in the research sites.

For example, the fieldworkers were encouraged to be conscious of the influence of local power inequalities on what is said and the degree to which others accept it. Special attention was given, in this context, to enhancing gender sensitisation of fieldworkers. Understanding the link between gender discrimination and vulnerability at a conceptual level, and developing skills to assess gender sensitisation at a personal and community level, were key aspects of the training.

The teams were trained and assisted in developing their ability to record people’s testimony and summarise the analysis they make of their reality

without substantial loss or distortion, bearing in mind the social context in which the interaction is taking place.

#### **1.6.4 PRA tools**

As well as an approach informed by certain basic principles, PRA is a “toolbox” of useful techniques for facilitating joint analysis at the local level. PRA tools include a variety of ways of visualising or representing aspects of local reality to promote a rich and revealing discussion among groups of local people. In contrast with the questionnaire approach used in censuses and surveys, the emphasis is placed on an open-ended enquiry in which local people take the lead. *Box 1.1* gives some examples.

A wide range of PRA techniques were used in the PPA in FATA including participatory mapping, matrix scoring, Venn diagramming and well-being ranking. Small groups of participants engaged in a discussion facilitated by a trained practitioner, who tried not to direct or over-influence the interaction that took place. Focus was given to the discussion by the drawing of a map, the preparation of a time-line, or the ranking or scoring of elements of the community’s natural or institutional environment.

The tools were treated not as ends in themselves, but as a means of generating debate and analysis around a specific issue. The elements of consensus and the disagreements, reasons and justifications that contributed to a group discussion formed the raw material for the activity and site reports.

#### **1.6.5 Triangulation**

The need to triangulate, or cross-check, every finding and its interpretation was emphasised in the training. Triangulation was important to distinguish genuine testimony from messages that are driven by ulterior motives or reflect particular interests presented as “community opinions”. It could also help to uncover deeper social processes, or additional layers of reality, that are initially obscured by the partial testimony of different groups of participants. Considerable emphasis was placed, therefore, on triangulation of findings.

This was done in two main ways. First, different perspectives on an issue were given space for expression by enabling different groups of the community to analyse the same issue. This was reflected in the preparation of several activity reports dealing with each major issue. Second, in the preparation of site reports and in the provincial synthesis process, information and interpretations were checked against, and enriched by, evidence from fieldworkers’ observations and testimony of key informants.

As a secondary support method, some basic quantitative data on the PPA sites were generated using a specially designed questionnaire. As well as permitting some limited triangulation, this has enabled the PRA-based site studies to be located statistically within the wider universe of the province. In this sense, what the case studies “represent” in terms of the range of

circumstances in the province can be confirmed independently of the site selection process described in the following section.

**Box 1.1: The PRA toolbox**

***The following selection of tools are used creatively for many different kinds of analysis. The description given below is indicative of the kind of analysis these tools can facilitate.***

*Social mapping, modelling and transects:* enables situational analysis of social structures and services. It helps analyse performance/coverage of existing services and also identifies services that are needed but are not available.

*Natural resource mapping:* enables an analysis of the state of natural resources and their use. The dependence of people's livelihoods on natural resources and the resultant levels of vulnerability can also be analysed through natural resource mapping.

*Well-being ranking:* explores people's perceptions and criteria of well-being, and enables them to use them to categorise individuals and households in their community. This method allows expression of people's own definitions of poverty or ill-being and also enables them to identify the worse-off and the well-off in their communities. Discussion on how and why households move, or can move, from one category to another is also possible through well-being ranking.

*Network and Venn diagramming:* examines institutional relationships, linkages and influences affecting local people, households, and community from within and outside their area. Institutions can include government service providers. The method also enables an assessment of the nature of the affect, i.e., whether positive or negative.

*Seasonal calendars, historical time lines, decades matrix, and daily activity patterns:* enables temporal analysis of, and the trends evident in relation to, selected variables. These methods can also enable an understanding of the interlinkage between variables.

*Preference ranking and matrix scoring:* enables comparative analysis and exploration of people's perceptions and choices based on criteria identified by them regarding a range of subjects from resource allocation to choice of employment.

*Cause-effect, flow diagrams for systems, and impact diagrams:* examines cause-effect relationships, inputs-outputs, and impact.

Source: Pretty et al (1995)

## **1.7 Selection of sites**

In the Pakistan PPA, field sites were selected “purposively” to provide in-depth case studies that illuminate the particular problem being investigated, namely poverty and the livelihoods of the poor. Care was taken to ensure that areas in different agro-ecological zones as well as those having specific characteristics were included in the PPA. This is different from a sample survey, where the principle of random selection is used to generate statistically representative results. However, as with surveys, it is important that the criteria of selection are clear and that their application is reasonably consistent and well recorded. Efforts were made to ensure this was done.

The number of sites for each province and area was fixed in advance on the basis of size and population of the province/area as well as the PPA project’s resource constraints. A tiered approach to the selection of study sites was then used based on some simple criteria that could be applied across the whole country.

The FATA selection process involved steps at the area, agency and tehsil levels. In FATA, representatives of SUNGI and the PPA office in Islamabad, the government focal point and members of the field team facilitated the selection process. At each level a facilitated and recorded “brainstorming” was organised with the participation of major stakeholders and key informants, including *tehsildars*, political agents, and the local *jirgas*. Care was taken to achieve site selection in a consensual way. In many cases, several different options had to be considered and it was not possible to satisfy everyone. The important consideration, however, was to achieve a working consensus and that the basis of the selection was properly recorded. Due to tribal restrictions, women were not able to participate in the site selection process.

## **1.8 Experiences in the field**

### **1.8.1 Local demand**

As in many other PPA sites all over the country, local people often expected the “outsiders” to give them something. This generated much demand by local populations for the PPA team to work in their particular village. In Gul Kach in South Waziristan, people of an adjoining village that was not chosen in the site selection process were very upset. A group of about 30-40 men bearing Kalashnikovs blocked the road on which the PPA team was travelling towards the selected sub-site (Gul Kach). The group of angry men demanded to know why their village was not selected. The team members invited the men to a meeting in the main bazaar. Soon others joined in, and a crowd of more than 400 people participated in the discussion. Using the PRA tool, pair-wise ranking, the team enabled the crowd to compare different villages and identify the poorest. The activity took 5-6 hours. But at the end of it, a consensus was reached on the village originally selected for the PPA as it was in fact judged to be the poorest by all participating analysts.



### **1.8.2 Group size**

Unlike many other PPA sites, the team in FATA had no problem gathering analysts. Unaccustomed to outside attention, local people were curious and delighted with the team's interaction with them. Often groups of 50-80 persons would gather for joint analysis. Local analysts were so interested in the work that they would hang around the team long after the analysis was completed.

### **1.8.3 Resistance and local support**

In Khyber the team encountered resistance from the local power broker, the *malik*. The *malik* was particularly annoyed at the team's insistence on including the poor and the poorest. A *jirga* was summoned by him to block the fieldwork, and threats were issued to the team. However, local people gave personal guarantees of protection to the team. They formed different groups of 30-40 men armed with Kalashnikovs and assigned them the task of providing protection to the team. The groups worked in rotation through the entire duration of the fieldwork.

In South Waziristan, the team had to deal with a *fatwa* (religious diktat) issued by Afghanistan's Taliban and their local allies against NGOs. The *fatwa* demanded the murder of NGO workers. This created much insecurity and difficulty for the PPA team as its members were drawn from various NGOs. At times, PPA team members deliberately concealed their NGO identity to stave off possible attacks and to ensure that the PPA process was conducted effectively.

### **1.8.4 Heart-rending stories**

The PPA team was deeply moved by many of the factors that affect the lives of the poor and the very poor in FATA. The conditions of women due to the customs of *wulwar* and offering girls in marriage as compensation for disputes were particularly disturbing. The interaction of the female members of the team with women affected by these customs left them very moved and upset. For the local women themselves, telling their stories was perhaps even more painful.

## **CHAPTER TWO – WHAT DO WE ALREADY KNOW?**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Before going on to look at the findings of the PPA fieldwork in FATA, in this chapter findings from the quantitative data on poverty are presented. Two different types of data are presented: poverty line data that show levels and trends in standards of living; and, social indicators that indicate the overall level of human development in Pakistan. This is followed by a description of each of the sites in FATA where the PPA fieldwork was undertaken. In the final part, a statistical comparison of the selected sites is made using data collected during the fieldwork.

### **2.2 Poverty in Pakistan**

Although there is now a wide literature on poverty in Pakistan there are still many gaps in our understanding.<sup>2</sup> First, Pakistan is a large and diverse country and generalisations are difficult. The way out of poverty for an unemployed factory worker in Karachi, a landless labourer in the Indus valley, or a livestock farmer in remote rural Balochistan are very different. Second, much of the poverty research in Pakistan has been focussed on measuring trends in the level of poverty over time and between geographic regions. Whilst it is important to measure changes in standards of living, many important aspects of poverty are under-researched. For example, little is known on the way changes in fiscal policy and utility pricing have impacted on the poor. Moreover, almost no work has been undertaken on how the poor themselves experience poverty and what their priorities are for improved policies and programmes. It is this latter gap that the PPA aims to address.

### **2.3 Standards of living in Pakistan**

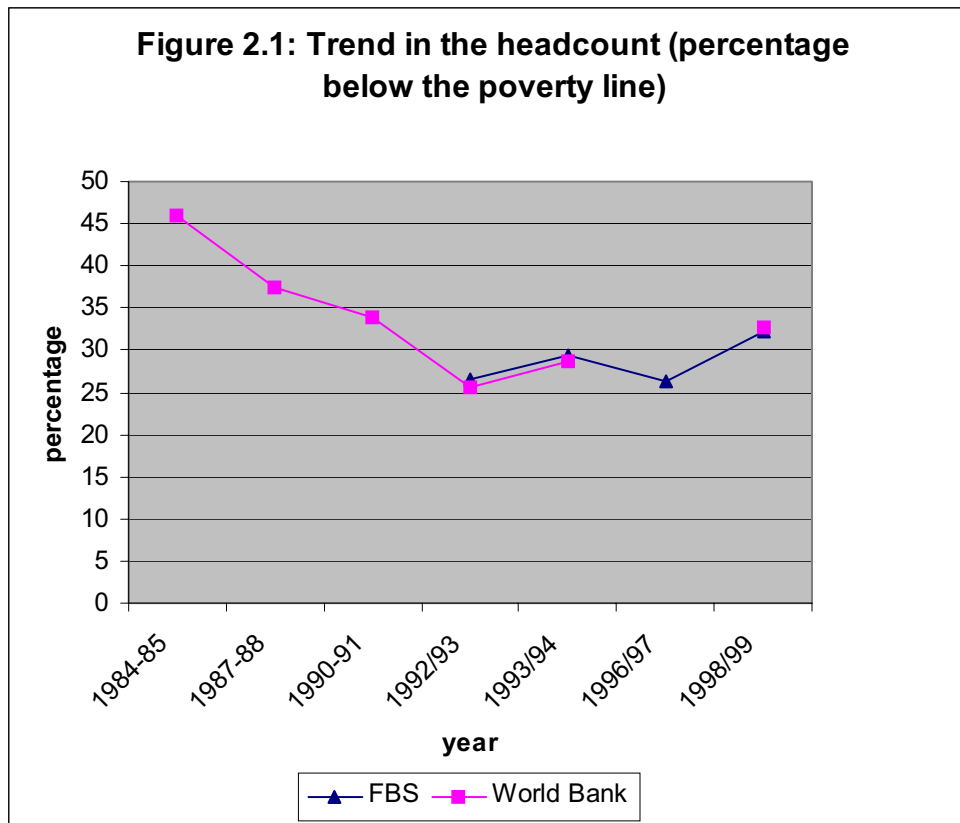
A widespread perception in Pakistan is that poverty levels in both urban and rural areas have been rising steadily in recent years. However, a review of recent poverty studies indicates that the picture may be more complicated than that. Over the 1980s, there is evidence that poverty levels in Pakistan fell. The World Bank's Poverty Assessment (World Bank, 1995) indicates that the national head count index (the percentage below the poverty line) fell from 46 per cent in 1984-85 to 37 per cent in 1987-88 and then to 34 per cent in 1990-91. However, the fall in rural areas was smaller than in urban areas. The authors of the World Bank study conclude that, compared to other developing countries, Pakistan's progress in reducing poverty during this decade, with the exception of East Asia, was as good as any developing region.

This trend did not continue into the 1990s. The Federal Bureau of Statistics (FBS) estimates that during the 1990s poverty levelled off and at the end of the decade started to rise (GoP, 2001). A slightly different picture is presented

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<sup>2</sup> For wide-ranging reviews of the poverty literature in Pakistan see: Banuri et al (eds) (1997), Gazdar (1998), Zaidi (1999a and 1999b) and Rimmer (2000).

in the recent World Bank Poverty Assessment that covers the 1990s (World Bank, 2002). They indicate that poverty levels fell during the middle of the decade but by the end of the decade were almost the same as the beginning. Their conclusion is that poverty levels remained unchanged throughout the decade. In sum, over the 1990s the data indicates that the success that Pakistan enjoyed during the 1980s was not continued into the 1990s. Although poverty levels did not increase dramatically over the decade, they levelled off, or may have even begun to rise. At the end of the decade, a third of the country's population remained under the poverty line (see *Figure 2.1*).



Turning to the characteristics of the poor, the FBS study found a number of characteristics to be closely associated with poverty:

- A typical poor household is large and includes many children (dependency ratios in poor households are high);
- Education is the most significant factor that distinguishes the poor from the non-poor (the percentage of literate household heads in non-poor households is 52 per cent compared with 27 per cent in poor households);
- Poor households often depend on precarious jobs, often as day labourers in agriculture, construction, trade and transport; and,

- Poverty status in agriculture is closely related to land holding per capita (the non-poor own 0.84 acres of cultivable land per capita whilst the poor own 0.27 acres per capita).

## 2.4 Key social indicators

In addition to the persistence of a high rate of poverty, Pakistan suffers from an additional problem, namely a relatively low level of human development. Improvements in social indicators over the last decade have been slow, despite the implementation of the Social Action Programme. In addition, the levels of key indicators remain poor when compared to comparable countries. For example, looking at other South Asian countries, Pakistan has the highest rate of infant and under-five mortality, the highest rate of female illiteracy, and the lowest percentage of girls enrolled in school (*Table 2.1*).

**Table 2.1: Regional comparison of human development indicators**

	% of 11-15 year old children enrolled in school		Adult illiteracy (1999/2000)		Mortality rate per 1000 (1998/99)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Infant	Under 5
Bangladesh	62	66	48	70	73	96
India	73	58	32	55	70	83
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>116</b>
Sri Lanka			6	11	15	19

Source: World Bank (2002)

## 2.5 An introduction to the field sites

The following table gives details of the sites and sub-sites of FATA. A detailed description of the characteristics and features of each site and sub-site follows.

**Table 2.2: Agencies, sites and sub-sites in FATA**

Agency	Site (Tehsil)	Sub-site (village)	
		Poor	Better-off
Khyber	Mula Ghorri	Murad Dhand	Lawara Maina
Kurram	Parachinar	Zera Mali Khel	Ghoz Ghari
South Waziristan	Toi Khola	Spaley Porn	Gul Kach

### 2.5.1 Site One: Tehsil Mula Ghori, Khyber Agency

Tehsil Mula Ghori in Khyber Agency is mountainous and rain-fed. It is mainly dry with very limited vegetation and trees. Land is generally barren, due to low rains and lack of irrigation facilities. The PPA was carried out in Murad Dhand (poor) and Lawara Maina (better-off) villages of Mula Ghori Tehsil.

In Murad Dhand there were about 144 households with an approximate population of 1,500. All households participated in the PPA. In Lawara Maina there were a total of 700 households with an approximate population of about 7,000. Due to the large size of Lawara Maina, the PPA was carried out in one of its *mohallas* (neighbourhoods) consisting of 137 households with an estimated population of about 1,235.

In Murad Dhand there is one Basic Health Unit (BHU) built far from the main settlement of the village. There is no drinking water facility. In Lawara Maina there is a poorly functioning health centre and drinking water facility. There is also an ineffective veterinary centre. In Murad Dhand there is one primary school for boys. Educational facilities for girls do not exist. In Lawara Maina there are two primary schools for boys and three for girls. There is also a high school for boys. Murad Dhand has limited access to areas beyond the village as there is only a *kutch*a road in very poor condition. Lawara Maina has a small *bazaar* (market), a Public Call Office and a Post Office. Electricity is available to most households in both sub-sites.

Murad Dhand is *barani* (rain-fed), and land is mostly barren. Drought has had severe adverse effects on the area including lowering the water table. A natural spring approximately 2-3 kilometres away from the main settlement is the only available source of drinking water. A few eucalyptus trees, planted recently, provide scant foliage. Livestock numbers, high in the past, have now become much reduced. In the past, there was some wildlife in the area, but this is also now reduced. Lawara Maina is situated on a barren mountain. There is no cultivable land, vegetation or trees. The mountains, however, have marble mines. Water was drawn groundwater sources which have become depleted due to the drought. Livestock including cows, goats, and sheep are available. There is also poultry.

In both sub-sites there are strong tribal traditions. The majority of people in both sub-sites are from the *Tar Khel* sub-tribe of the *Mula Ghori* tribe. In Murad Dhand there is also some presence of other sub-tribes of the *Mula Ghori* tribe, including the *Pahar Khel*, *Ahmed Khel*, and *Daulat Khel*. People in both sub-sites are Sunni Muslims. They speak Pushto.

In both sub-sites, employment in the *Khasadar* Force, the Frontier Corps, and the Khyber Rifles is much sought after. Daily wage labour in the local marble mines and in the cities is the main source of income for men. Women are responsible for all housework. Some women in Lawara Maina work in the marble mines on daily wages. Women in Murad Dhand collect and sell fuelwood and grass.

## 2.5.2 Site Two: Tehsil Parachinar, Kurram Agency

Tehsil Parachinar of Kurram Agency is mountainous, mostly *barani* (rain-fed) and rural. It is in close proximity to the border with Afghanistan. It is generally dry and hot. The PPA was carried out in Zera Mali Khel (poor) and Ghaz Ghari (better-off) villages in Tehsil Parachinar.

There are about 800 households in Zera Mali Khel with an approximate population of 6,400. The area demarcated for the PPA in Zera Mali Khel had around 129 households with a population of about 1,050. In Ghaz Ghari there are a total of 660 households with a total population of 5,200. The area demarcated for the PPA had 119 households with around 1,000 people.

There are no health facilities in Zera Mali Khel. Houses are poorly ventilated, with only a few having toilet facilities. There is one dysfunctional water supply scheme in the village. In Zera Mali Khel there is one primary school for boys. There are no educational facilities for girls. Most houses have electricity, although the supply is usually erratic and affected by low voltage. The community has constructed a *kutchra* road on self-help basis that gives them access to areas outside the village. However, it is in poor condition. In Ghaz Ghari there is one BHU. It is no staff or facilities. People live in small *kutchra* homes that often lack toilet facilities. There is one high school for boys and a primary school for girls. The quality of both institutions is unsatisfactory. In terms of infrastructure, Ghaz Ghari has a *kutchra* road in poor condition, small irrigation channels constructed and managed by local people, electricity and a Public Call Office.

Zera Mali Khel is mountainous. Most of the land is barren although there is some land that is irrigated. Wheat, maize and rice are the major crops of the area. Vegetables are also cultivated for home consumption. Local people keep cows, sheep, goats and poultry but their numbers have reduced significantly as fodder is in short supply due to drought. There are few birds or wildlife. A special type of grey stone is available that is used for decoration. Ghaz Ghari is also mountainous and barren. It is *barani* (rain-fed). There are just a few oak trees now as the area is heavily deforested. Wheat, maize and rice are cultivated. Limited varieties of apples and plums are also grown. Like Zera Mali Khel, livestock numbers have also been severely affected in this sub-site. Ghaz Ghari receives snowfall in the winter.

Different clans of the *Mali Khel* tribe live in Zera Mali Khel. This tribe a sub-tribe of *Hamza Khel* which is part of the *Turi* tribe of Kurram Agency. The local population are Shia Muslims. Pushto is the language spoken here. In Ghaz Ghari live different clans of the *Muqbal* tribe, their ancestors migrated here from Afghanistan. They are Sunni Muslims and speak Pushto.

In both sub-sites farming, livestock rearing, running small businesses (generally local grocery and supply shops), and working as chauffeurs are the main kinds of employment for men. In addition, men in Zera Mali Khel also work as daily wagers, and collect and sell stones. In Ghaz Ghari, there are a

very few cases of overseas employment as a source of income. Women and children in Zera Mali Khel earn an income by collecting and selling medicinal plants. In Ghoz Ghari, women are mainly occupied in housework and embroidery. Some women also do tailoring.

### **2.5.3 Site Three: Tehsil Toi Khola, South Waziristan Agency**

Tehsil Toi Khola of South Waziristan Agency is situated in close proximity to the Pakistan-Afghan border. The PPA was carried out in Spaley Porn (poor) and Gul Kach (better-off) villages of this tehsil. Both villages are greatly influenced by Afghan culture. Seasonal migration to Afghanistan was common until the Russian invasion in the late 1970s.

There are about 283 households in Spaley Porn with an estimated population of 2,264 people. All households participated in the PPA. Gul Kach has a scattered population of about 3,200 people living in 400 households. Of these 160 households (with a population of 1,300) participated in the PPA.

In Spaley Porn there is one primary school for girls and one *maktab* (religious) school for boys. There is electricity supply, but only to a few houses. There is a *kutchra* road and a small irrigation channel. In Gul Kach there are two private primary schools for girls and one high school for boys. Some houses have an electricity supply. There is a *kutchra* road that leads to Afghanistan. 17 tubewells provide irrigation water, and one tubewell meets drinking water needs. There are no health facilities in either sub-site.

Both sub-sites have barren land and no vegetation. Maize and wheat are the main crops. In Spaley Porn there are some medicinal herbs that people collect and sell to earn an income. There are also apples and some other fruits. In both sub-sites people keep cows, sheep, and goats. However, their numbers are reduced due to drought.

In Spaley Porn, people belong to the *Dotani* tribe and its sub-tribes. In Gul Kach, most people are from *Sultan Khel*, a sub-tribe of *Suleman Khel*. The population in both sub-sites are Sunni Muslims who speak Pushto.

Daily wage labour locally and in towns and cities is the main source of income for men in Spaley Porn and Gul Kach. Some men have gone to Afghanistan and Iran in search of labour opportunities. If it rains, farming becomes a source of income in both sub-sites. In Gul Kach some men work as agricultural labour in the irrigated areas. Some also work in the *Khasadar* Force. In Spaley Porn, the collection and sale of grey stones is also a way of earning an income. Women in both sub-sites do housework and collect and sell medicinal plants and seeds.

## **2.6 Statistical profile of the PPA sites in FATA**

As noted earlier, the PPA teams collected a small amount of statistical information in each PPA site in order that a comparison could be made

between the PPA sites, and between the sites and the province and country as a whole. An analysis of the FBS's Pakistan Integrated Household Survey (PIHS) data indicated a number of variables that were strongly correlated with consumption poverty. A number of these variables were selected and each household involved in the PPA fieldwork in each selected PPA community was enumerated. These variables included: literacy of the household head; household size; land per capita (rural only); rooms per capita; households without a flush toilet (rural only); households with a gas connection (urban only); households with a telephone connection (urban only); households with a buffalo (rural only); and, households receiving a remittance (urban only).

In the four provinces of Pakistan it was possible to compare the data from the PPA sites with the provincial PIHS findings from FBS. This was not possible for FATA as the current PIHS dataset for that area is not available. It is therefore only possible to make a comparison with NWFP and Pakistan as a whole.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from *Table 2.3* on the three selected rural sites:

1. The values of almost every indicator are very low in FATA compared to NWFP and the rest of Pakistan. One notable exception is the literacy rate at the site in Khyber Agency (38 per cent) which is higher than the average for NWFP as a whole (33 per cent).
2. The poor own very small plots of land in Khyber and Kurram agencies. Average per capita landholdings in each of these two sites are very small (less than 0.07 and 0.08 acres). South Waziristan is an exception. In the PPA site in that agency landholdings per capita (0.41 acres) are higher than for NWFP as a whole.

**Table 2.3: Statistical profile of selected PPA sites in FATA**

FATA sites (agencies)	Literacy of household head %	Household size	Rooms in house per capita	Households without flush toilet (rural only) %	Acres of land per person (rural only)	Households with at least 1 buffalo (rural only) %
<b>Rural</b>						
Khyber	38	8.9	0.2	100	0.07	0
South Waziristan	14	8.3	0.23	99	0.41	1
Kurram	15	8.1	0.21	98	0.08	0
<b>NWFP</b>	<b>33 (all)</b>	<b>7.8 (all)</b>	<b>0.31 (all)</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>0.25</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>45 (all)</b>	<b>6.8 (all)</b>	<b>0.33 (all)</b>	<b>79 (rural)</b>	<b>0.63 (rural)</b>	<b>28 (rural)</b>

NB The statistics refer to the three sites and not to the districts as a whole.



## **CHAPTER THREE – PERCEPTIONS OF POVERTY AND RIGHTS**

### **3.1 Introduction**

In order to fully comprehend and analyse the situation in which poor people find themselves, information and knowledge from a wide variety of sources is essential. However, if mistakes based on ignorance or prejudice are to be avoided, any analysis needs to be firmly based on how poor people perceive their own condition, how they explain its causes and what their priorities are. An understanding of what poverty is, and how it needs to be addressed in order to reduce it, needs to be built up in a stepwise fashion starting from the most immediate experiences reported by poor people themselves

This chapter begins with a summary of the findings in the PPA site reports about how people in the PPA sites categorise each other, and how they describe their situation and its more immediate causes. It then examines their perceptions of any basic entitlements or rights that people should have, and the actual level of access to or fulfillment of rights.

### **3.2 Perceptions of poverty**

The concept of poverty is multidimensional for those that experience it. Material possessions, physical well-being, and decision-making powers were some common factors identified by a diverse group of women, men, and children in the three FATA sites to assess the state of well-being or ill-being. There were also some differences. Certain groups identified specific criteria not identified by others or placed different emphasis on common criteria identified by most analysts. For example, different groups of women felt that individuals and households are poor if they do not have access to clean drinking water. This criterion was not mentioned by groups of male analysts in the same sites.

The criteria for assessing well-being or ill-being are often used interchangeably for households or key individuals within a household, whose well-being or ill-being impacts the entire household. For example, not having enough food supply indicates a poor household; having three or four wives indicates the well-being of an individual male.

Analysts also indicated a nuanced difference between the poor and the very poor based on the extent of deprivation. The very poor are hungry and forced to beg for survival. The poor have inadequate food that is often of bad quality. The poor may also have an income but it is generally meager and inconsistent. There are also marked difference based on gender. In all cases poor women are worse off than poor men.

The perceptions of poverty were analysed by various groups of women and men using multiple PRA tools. The most frequently used tool was well-being

analysis. About 900 households were analysed in the three sites of FATA. The total number of households identified and categorised by different groups in different locations varied to some extent. An average of the findings in each sub-site is taken to make it representative of each site. *Table 3.1* shows the result of this assessment.

**Table 3.1: Distribution of well-being categories**

PPA Sites	Well-off		Better-off		Poor		Very Poor	
	Male Analysts	Female Analysts	Male Analysts	Female Analysts	Male Analysts	Female Analysts	Male Analysts	Female Analysts
South Waziristan • Gul Kach (better-off) • Spaley Porn (poor)	6 31	0	25 55	28	58 177	89	71 0	95
Khyber Agency • Lawara Maina (better-off) • Murad Dhand (poor)	2 1	2 9	35 12	29 20	97 28	73 20	6 5	0 0
Kurram Agency • Ghoz Ghari (better-off) • Zera Mali Khel (poor)	18 20	17 6	43 45	72 33	79 64	40 81	0 0	54 0
Total	78	34	215	182	503	303	82	149

In these exercises local analysts determined categories of well-being or ill-being (eg well-off, better-off, poor, and very poor), identified criteria for each category, and placed each local household in the most appropriate category based on the applicability of criteria. *Table 3.2* presents a selection of criteria identified by local analysts.

The terms used for the very poor and poor paint a picture of isolation, frustration, deprivation, and dependence. These include, *miskeen* (meek), *aajiz* (needy), *gareeb* (poor), *faqeer* (beggar) *bechara* (pitiable), *bebas* (helpless), *sokha* (penniless), *spera* (hungry or unfortunate), *tabah-u-barbad* (destroyed), *lova-daley* (alone, has no support), *nesthman* or *nesthmand* (owns nothing), *lagharh* (naked, has no clothes to wear), *khwaar* (frustrated) *jobal* (wounded or disabled), and *bebakht* (unlucky).

The diverse, multi-faceted criteria of poverty identified by local analysts in the three sites can be clustered around four broad themes: human security; ownership of assets; powerlessness; and, income security.

### 3.2.1 Human security

The poor lack human security. Hunger, disease, and anxiety are some of the key factors that indicate human insecurity.

*The poor are those who do not have two meals in a day, are always anxious about their next meal, and are hungry. (A group of 20 poor women in Ghoz Ghari, Kurram Agency)*

**Table 3.2: Criteria for well-being and ill-being, identified by groups of women and men in FATA**

<b>Well-off</b>	<b>Better-off</b>	<b>Poor</b>	<b>Very poor</b>
	Has peaceful life.	Has enmity. Is unhappy, anxious and unable to sleep.	Has no friends or relatives. Feels hopeless.
Has surplus food. Has ghee, meat, and milk. Suffers from rich persons' diseases like diabetes and high blood pressure.	Has enough food grain and fresh bread. Eats two meals a day.	Does not have enough food. Often hungry. Does not have milk for tea.	Is hungry. Has bad quality or no food. Often eats just dry bread. Visits others just to get some food.
Has good physique.	Has good health. Able to access nearby health care facilities.	Suffers ill-health. Has little money for health-care. Gets treated at local BHU.	Physically weak. Has no money to get medicine from local traditional health providers.
Has capital of about Rs.600,000. Has more income than expenditure.	Has capital of about Rs.200,000-100,000 that can be invested in business.	Has no capital. Has many dependents.	Is penniless and compelled to steal or beg.
Is in a position to lend money to others and also give charity as <i>zakat</i> or monetary or in-kind donation.	Is able to access loans and repay them. Neither gives or takes <i>zakat</i> .	Has debts. But also finds it difficult to get credit due to low credit-worthiness. Depends on <i>zakat</i> .	Is not able to access credit. Is dependent on <i>zakat</i> .
Is a <i>malik</i> . Is proud and respected by all. Has decision-making power. Has access to government/decision makers. Has a gang of thugs for intimidation.	Has access to the government (relatively less than the well-off). Is sometimes invited to <i>jirgas</i> .	Belongs to a tribe with little or no influence. Has no decision-making power. Cannot even express views.	Others view them with contempt. People don't call them by their names. Their opinions are not heard.
Has three or four wives.		Lives separately once married.	Is unable to marry (due to high cost of <i>wulwar</i> ).
Owens tractor/datsun or other vehicles.	Owens a scooter or is able to rent transport facilities.	Owens a bicycle.	Is not allowed to sit with others in public transportation.
Owens land and crops.	Owens some land.	Owens very little land.	Landless.
Owens 100-150 sheep.	Owens 50 sheep.	Owens one or two goats or does not own any livestock.	
Owens fine clothes and jewellery.	Owens reasonable clothes.	Does not own many household items or clothes. Makes clothes once a year.	Owens few clothes that are tattered and dirty. Has worn out or no shoes.
Owens good house with a <i>hujra</i> and keeps two or three guards.	Owens house and has a modest <i>kutchra hujra</i> .	Does not own a home.	
Is doing business or has a job. Is not able or willing to do manual labour.	Has income through livestock rearing, selling clay pots or doing labour work.	Has little income. Household women have to do labour.	Has little choice but to do labour work.
Are able to participate in all occasions.	Does not invite anyone or accept others' invitation.	Cannot offer food to guests. Are rarely invited to occasions.	Is not invited to any occasion.

The poor are often without food and survive on dry *roti* (stove-baked bread). They depend on the compassion of relatives to feed them or the benevolence of community members to take care of them. Traditional cohesion of rural tribal societies helps sustain the very poor. Although over the years this cohesion has been eroded to some extent, it continues to serve as the most effective safety net against total impoverishment of the very poor. In comparison to the poor and very poor, well-off households have surplus food all year round. Their diet consists of rich foods, and they often suffer what are perceived to be rich people's diseases like diabetes and high blood pressure. Due to nutritional deficiency the poor suffer physical weakness. Those in the well-off and better-off categories are of good physique and enjoy good health.

Illness and disability are also factors that increase human insecurity of the poor. Malaria, typhoid, jaundice, and cholera are prevalent in all three sites. Any major disease is liable to plunge an entire household into poverty. Lack of public health facilities forces the poor to incur out-of-pocket expenses for private health care usually entailing additional expenditure on transportation to reach these facilities. The very poor are unable to afford even the services of relatively less expensive local traditional health providers.

The poor experience isolation, loneliness, and dejection. They have few friends or relatives. They are not invited to social occasions. They do not have the means to invite guests to their homes or serve them meals, an essential part of traditional hospitality expected from hosts.

*No one likes to participate in the funerals of the poor, even the maulvi is reluctant to lead the poor's janaza (funeral). (A group of 14 poor/very poor women in Ghaz Ghari, Kurram Agency)*

Enmity is also a factor that identifies households that are poor. Land disputes are a major cause of enmity entailing loss of livelihood and putting the lives of feuding families and tribes at risk, as disputes tend to turn bloody. The resulting sense of insecurity and anxiety reduce human security and increase vulnerability.

*A widow with five or six children is poor because she has no income and is perpetually searching for support. (A group of poor and very poor men in Lawara Maina, Khyber Agency)*

### **3.2.2 Ownership of assets**

Land, especially arable land, is an asset that the poor covet the most. Land ownership is directly proportional to the well-being of a household. The more land owned, the greater the well-being experienced by a household. The poor own very little or no land, and very poor are landless. The lack of land ownership compels the poor to seek other sources of income such as agricultural labour or off-farm daily wage labour. This increases the poor's dependence on others for food and income.

*Poor households set marriage dates after a harvest so that their income from it can support the expenses of the wedding. If crops fail, marriages are postponed until after the next harvest. (A group of 14 poor and very poor women in Ghaz Ghari, Kurram Agency)*

Ownership of livestock is also an important indicator of well-being or ill-being. A well-off household typically owns between 100-150 sheep, whilst a better-off household owns about 50 sheep. The poor sometimes own one or two sheep and the very poor do not own any livestock. Livestock numbers have, however, been adversely affected by the persistent drought in the area. Falling livestock numbers also affect the poor, especially women, as caring for livestock owned by others is an important income source for them.

Decreased access to medicinal plants (*khamozaray* and *spelenay*) in South Waziristan and Kurram agencies is also a cause of poverty, affecting women more than men as picking and selling these plants is a source of income for women in these sites.

Well-off households have capital of about Rs.600,000 and the better-off have around Rs.100,000-200,000. The poor have no capital and are often in debt even though they cannot easily access credit due to their perceived low credit worthiness. The very poor are unable to access credit even in times of great need.

Ownership of a home is also an important factor distinguishing the well-off from the poor. The condition of homes and ownership of simple material possessions such as clothes and household items are also considered when differentiating well-being and ill-being. The rich own jewellery and fine clothes. The poor have tattered clothes and are at times barefoot.

*He is poor who does not have a quilt in winter or a fan in summer.*  
(A group of poor children in Lawara Maina, Khyber Agency)

### **3.2.3 Powerlessness**

The poor experience an intense sense of powerlessness. They have little decision-making power. They are not included in making collective decisions and do not have the power to raise their own issues. The poor do not have access to the *jirga*, a key collective decision-making forum. The rich dominate decision-making processes and even hire thugs to ensure compliance with their wishes.

Power is related to tribal identity. The traditional *nikkat* system through which rights of access to and control over resources, services and opportunities are apportioned to tribes according to the number of male warriors in each tribe links tribal identity to power and well-being. Even British colonial rule had to abide by this ancient tribal system, as did successive post-independence governments. The *nikkat* system also determines the number of *maliks* (in effect the government's liaison person) selected from each tribe or sub-tribe.

This privilege gives the tribes and sub-tribes with greater apportioned claims more power than others. The *nikkat* system is still generally in effect across FATA, with its most vivid impact seen in South Waziristan. Due to this system merely being born into a powerful or powerless tribe determines the extent to which an individual or household is able to influence decisions.

*We are poor because we are born in poor households. We have no means to get out of poverty. (A group of 14 poor and very poor women in Ghoz Ghari, Kurram Agency)*

The situation of women in terms of decision-making is even worse. Women do not have any control over their own bodies, or their households or the community. They are not able to participate in decisions of the *jirga*, and are also not given any opportunity to put forward their grievances at this forum.

The poor are seldom treated with respect or dignity. Some view them with contempt and do not even address them by their names. Some very poor persons are not even permitted to sit with others in public transportation. Most people prefer to ignore the poor. They are not invited to social occasions hosted by better-off or well-off households.

### **3.2.4 Income security**

Persistent drought has adversely affected agricultural productivity and reduced the income potential of small landholders. It has also affected those who depend on agricultural labour for their livelihood. Loss of agricultural income and unemployment are key factors in enhancing poverty.

Lack of secure and consistent income is aggravated by the lack of access to diverse sources of income. Negligible off-farm economic activity in the area restricts job opportunities for daily wage labour. In South Waziristan, mining precious stones offers some alternate sources of off-farm employment, as does a marble factory in Khyber. However, these do not generate sufficient employment opportunities for the number of local people seeking work.

*I have no money and nothing to eat. I am in debt. I owe Rs.11,000 which I cannot repay. I am a skilled mason but have no work. Where can I work? There are no jobs here. (Muhammad Afzal, Ghoz Ghari, Kurram Agency)*

Economic stress has forced women of poor households to leave their homes in search of income, even though this is not a traditionally acceptable role for women.

### **3.3 Perceptions of rights and entitlements**

Analysts expressed clarity and depth in their awareness of rights and the sources of rights. There is general acceptance that most rights are denied to most local people, and particularly the poor. Women are the worst-off in terms

of the denial and violation of their rights. Religion is perceived as the most significant source of rights, whilst the government is also seen as important (see *Table 3.3*).

The wide range of perceived rights identified by analysts across the three sites can be clustered around five broad themes. Right to survive, right to freedom, right to public services, right to income and employment, and right of access to and control over assets. Rights identified in each theme are mostly interdependent. For example, the right to survive depends on the right to access the key resource of clean drinking water.

### **3.3.1 Right to survive**

The right to secure food, shelter, clothing, health, and peace enable people to survive. These are considered as inalienable, fundamental rights of all people. Many analysts also concluded that it was not enough to merely survive. It was equally important to have the right to lead a dignified life.

### **3.3.2 Right to justice and freedom**

Analysts' perception of their right to justice was strongly influenced by the specific context in FATA. Local people believe that the oppressive Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) denies them this fundamental right. The FCR places executive and judicial powers in a single authority (ie the political agent/assistant political agent) making it all-powerful and prone to abuse of authority. This system also denies people their right of appeal as the powers of prosecution and judgement are within the same authority. Also, under the FCR an entire tribe, sub-tribe or clan is liable to be imprisoned or punished for a crime committed by an individual or a group of individuals belonging to that particular tribe, sub-tribe or clan. The local analysts of FATA believe that they have a right to free themselves from this oppressive form of governance.

The freedom to make decisions was repeatedly identified as a fundamental right by diverse groups of analysts. The most frequently mentioned aspect of decision-making was related to choosing a marriage partner. The right to make this choice is denied to men and women, with women worse off as they are at times even given in marriage as compensation to settle disputes.

Freedom to express views is also perceived as a critical right that is consistently denied to the poor and to women. Even young men are unable to fully exercise this right. The freedom to practice religion is also an important right perceived by local people.

Local analysts in FATA believe that they have been denied their political rights. The right to vote is considered as an important political right denied to all people in the area until recently. The government announced the right to franchise in the tribal areas in the 1997 general elections. However, social customs and norms still deny this right to women.

### 3.3.3 Right to public services

The right to access clean drinking water is a fundamental right denied to most people in the FATA sub-sites. Acute water shortages have not only forced communities to move closer to available water sources, they have placed a much greater burden on women as they spend many hours a day in search of drinking water. Some women in Lawara Maina in the Khyber Agency stated that they wake up at 3:00 am to begin their journey in search of drinking water. An old woman explained that her daughter-in-law is away from her home throughout the night as she waits for her turn to get water from the well.

Health and education facilities are also perceived rights of local people. These facilities are totally inadequate in terms of availability and quality. The state of public social services is even more devastating for women as the lack of reproductive health facilities endangers the lives of women. There are also very few schools for girls in the area. Even when schools physically exist, most are dysfunctional.

*We get no benefit from government buildings that have no staff. We don't know why the government incurs these huge expenses for nothing. (A group of 14 poor and very poor women in Ghoz Ghari, Kurram Agency)*

Government infrastructure facilities like roads and electricity are also not adequately available in the FATA sub-sites. Provision of these facilities is perceived as a right.

Analysts also identified the provision of government services such as postal facilities, issuance of national identity cards and passports as their rights, which are denied by the government.

#### **Box 3.1: The Warsak Dam – commitments not honoured**

Haji Buner is an old man from Lawara Maina, the better-off sub-site in Khyber Agency. In 1949 he participated in a public meeting in which an agreement reached between local people and government officials about building the Warsak Dam was announced. He recalled that according to this agreement, the *Mula Gori* tribe was to provide land for the dam. In return the government officials committed a free supply of electricity, preferential job opportunities for local people during the construction of the dam, and royalties for the *Mula Gori* tribe. While the *Mula Gori* tribe provided land for the dam, the government has yet to honour any of its commitments. Local people believe they have a right to the services and royalties committed but these have not been delivered by the government.



### 3.3.4 Right to assets

The right to own land and a house are important rights of the poor. Without these assets the poor are vulnerable to income insecurity, excesses and exploitation by landlords and employers, and homelessness.

In South Waziristan, plantations on hills were included in the list of natural assets to which the poor believe they have a right as their livelihood depends on accessing medicinal plants available there.

Analysts also felt that they have a right to own material possessions in the form of simple household items such as crockery and bed linen.

### 3.3.5 Right to income and employment

Access to a steady income and secure job opportunities are considered as a right. To ensure income security for the largely agriculture-based economy of the area, the provision of irrigation facilities and cultivable land is perceived as a right of the people of the area.

Analysts stated that provision of credit and banking facilities is also a right of people, as without them their right to income and business opportunities is restricted.

### 3.3.6 Women's rights

While all rights stated above are perceived to be rights of both women and men, some rights are considered specific to women. The most important was the right to inheritance. Male and female analysts claimed that women, poor or well-off, are consistently denied their right to inheritance even though there is awareness that Islam gives them this right.

**Table 3.3: Comparison of rights of poor and well-off women and men, by a group of poor women in Ghoz Ghari, Kurram Agency**

Rights	Well-off		Poor		Sources of rights	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Religion	State
Access to education	••	••	•		••	••
Decision on marriage	••	••	••	•	••	
Access to good healthcare	••	••	•		••	•
Right of ownership	••		••		••	
Access to good food	••	•	••	•	••	
Right to own a house	••	••	•		••	
Right to own good clothes	••	••	•	••	••	

Note: The matrix compares access to rights of poor and well-off women and men by scoring points using a scale of 1-2, with 2 having the highest value. The matrix also identifies the perceived source of the right by scoring points using the same scale.

There was also general agreement that women are denied their right to decision-making. Women have no role in decision-making processes even when decisions fundamentally affect women's own lives. For example, women have little say in decisions regarding their marriage. They are at times sold in the name of marriage or given as compensation to settle disputes. Most men believe that the *jirga* is an effective decision-making forum. However, women are completely excluded from the *jirga*.

Women believe that they have a right to protection from violence and cruelty by men. In Khyber Agency women analysts complained about domestic violence, particularly by men involved in gambling. They said that if men lose when gambling, they fight with their wives, beat them, and at times even sell them to cover losses. In South Waziristan, women are forced to leave their homes in search of income. This, they feel, violates their right to seclusion.

Due to strong patriarchal traditions, both women and men consider women to be inferior to men. Women are at times seen as a burden and are often humiliated through various means.

*When a woman dies, nothing happens. When a man dies the whole household is destroyed as men earn an income. (A group of about 10 very poor and better-off women, Zera Mali Khel, Kurram Agency)*

## CHAPTER FOUR – LIVELIHOOD ASSETS

### 4.1 Introduction

The central feature of a livelihoods framework is that people possess different amounts of five types of basic resources or “capital”. These are important in their own right to people’s well-being. They are also assets – ways of storing and transforming wealth, so as to generate income, or to smooth out sharp variations in income and consumption on account of natural disasters or economic shocks. Together with local people, and as a way of mapping how they make a living, the PPA explored the range of assets that people have at their disposal and the major constraints they face in protecting, and building up stocks of, their assets.

#### **Box 4.1: Five types of “capital”**

Natural capital	–	land, forests, water, marine and wild resources
Produced capital	–	physical infrastructure and credit
Human capital	–	nutrition, health, education, local-knowledge
Social capital	–	the benefits from a dense pattern of association
Political capital	–	power or powerlessness

Not all of the assets on which poor people draw are of an obviously productive and, still less, financial nature. Social and political relationships, and the natural environment, can work as “capital” as well as land and savings. This chapter reviews a broad range of poor people’s assets and examines how access to, or lack of, various assets affects poverty and well-being, particularly at individual or household level.

### 4.2 Dependence on natural capital

#### 4.2.1 Water

The livelihoods of local people in FATA largely depend on natural resources. Livestock rearing, farming, selling fuelwood and medicinal plants are some of their key sources of income. There are not many alternative off-farm income sources. Not surprisingly, the most valued natural capital in this area is water. The paucity of water sources restricts people’s access to water.

The long spell of drought has drastically depleted this vital natural resource exacerbating the water shortage problem in the area. Ground water levels have dropped significantly, drying out most of the wells in the sites. In all three sites, scarcity of water emerged as the single most important aspect in the lives of all local people, particularly the poor.

*Table 4.1* shows the sources of drinking and irrigation water that serve the needs of about 25,000 people in the FATA sub-sites.

**Table 4.1: Water sources in the FATA sub-sites**

Agency	Water Sources	
	Sub-site A (poor)	Sub-site B (better-off)
South Waziristan	<u>Spaley Porn</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A small stream;</li> <li>• Small irrigation channels constructed by the community;</li> <li>• A natural spring in a nearby village for drinking water.</li> </ul>	<u>Gul Kach</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 17 tubewells installed to irrigate cultivable land owned by local population;</li> <li>• One tube well for drinking water, adversely affected due to voltage fluctuation.</li> </ul>
Kurram	<u>Zera Mali Khel</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A dysfunctional water supply scheme.</li> </ul>	<u>Ghoz Ghari</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Small irrigation channels constructed by the community, routinely affected by flooding.</li> </ul>
Khyber	<u>Murad Dhand</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A water tank constructed in the early 1990s that is dry and is now used to store cow dung;</li> <li>• One spring, 2-3 kilometres away from the main population.</li> </ul>	<u>Lawara Maina</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A water supply scheme constructed in the early 1990s. The pumps developed faults in 2001;</li> <li>• Wells that are dry;</li> <li>• 14 small tanks and one large tank that are all dry.</li> </ul>

**Box 4.2: Protesting for water**

Water is essential for life. In one of the sub-sites a water supply scheme, installed in the early 1990s, serves as the key source of water for the local population. Dependence on this particular water source increased as other sources were adversely affected by persistent drought. In mid-2001 a fault occurred in the water pumps suspending water supply for several weeks. Official apathy in arranging the urgently needed repairs evoked strong resentment amongst the local population leading to their protest against the government. The state charged the protestors Rs.50,000 and also arrested some of them. The protesters were later released. Local people are still negotiating a withdrawal or reduction of the fine. Repair work on the pumps was eventually carried out, however, they are still not functioning properly.

The lack of drinking water has particularly affected the lives of women. They are forced to spend many hours in search of water.

*A drinking water scheme was constructed five years ago. It has never functioned. Women still have to go very far to fetch water. (A group of 10 poor women and 15 children in Zera Mali Khel, Kurram Agency)*

In Murad Dhand (poor sub-site in Khyber), the only source of water is a spring in Jhandey Baba, a *mohalla* (neighbourhood) on the periphery of the village about 2-3 kilometres away from the main population. Due to the distance, the task of fetching water has shifted from women to men in better-off households that own donkeys, as water is carried in cans loaded on donkeys. But women of poor households continue to bear this burden.

*Women have become bald due to carrying matkas (water pitchers) on their heads from this faraway place. (A poor woman in Murad Dhand, Khyber Agency)*

#### 4.2.2 Livestock

Until about 30 years ago, livestock rearing was a major source of income. Analysts in Murad Dhand (Khyber Agency) recalled that until the 1960s there were pastures and forests in the area providing fodder for livestock. The long drought period has depleted the pastures and forests, drastically reducing the numbers of livestock. Analysts in South Waziristan also identified the 1978 Russian invasion into Afghanistan as a factor affecting livestock rearing. Both sub-sites of South Waziristan are in close proximity to the border with Afghanistan. Until the 1978 Russian invasion the people in these areas regularly accessed the rangelands in Afghanistan.

Typically, livestock populations consist of cows, sheep and goats. Backyard poultry is also a source of income and nutrition for the poor. There are very few buffaloes. For example, in Kurram there is only one buffalo, owned by a better-off household. In Khyber, some better-off households also owned donkeys for fetching water. Falling livestock numbers have had a devastating impact on livelihoods of local people, particularly the poor and women.

**Table 4.2: Trends affecting well-being**, analysed by a group of 11 men in Ghaz Ghari, Kurram Agency

Variable	Decade		
	1971 - 1980	1981 - 1990	1991 - 2000
Livestock	●●●●●●	●●●●	●●
Population	●●	●●●●	●●●●●●
Cultivable land	●●●●	●●●●	●●●●
Forests	●●●●●●●●	●●●	●●
Water – rains	●●●●●●	●●●●	●●
Employment sources	●●●●	●●●●●●	●●
Wildlife	●●●●●●●●	●●●●	●

Note: Each variable has a total of 12 points spread over the period analysed, i.e., three decades from 1971 to present. Increase or decrease in the number of points allocated to each decade indicates whether the variable has increased or decreased in that period. Weightage of each point is constant as the same number of total points is used for each variable.

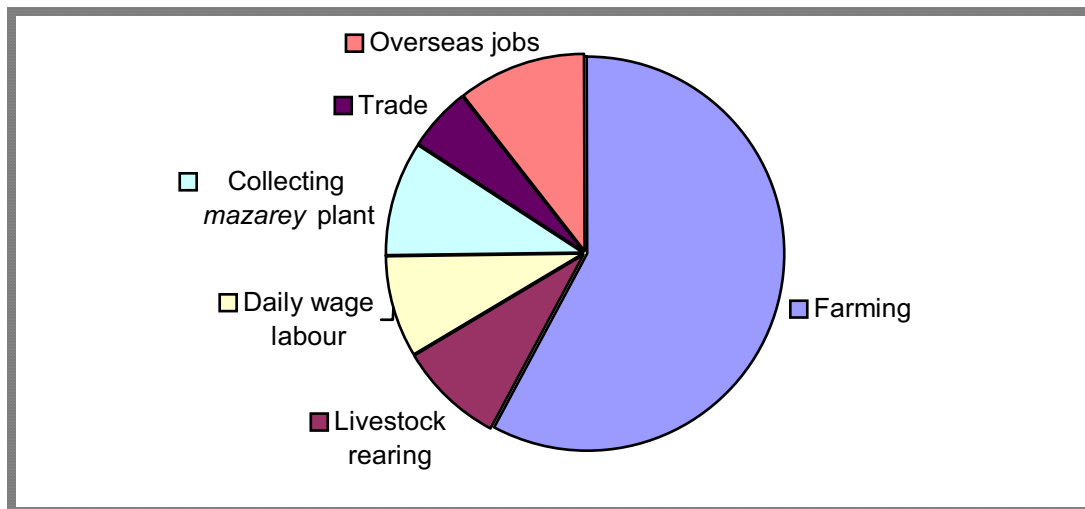
### 4.2.3 Agriculture

Farming is a preferred source of income in Kurram and South Waziristan (see *Figure 4.1*). The loss of livestock has compelled some households to turn to farming. Apart from the very poor, most households own some landholding. Maize and wheat are main crops in Kurram and South Waziristan, whereas rice is also grown in Kurram to a limited extent. There are no significant crops in Khyber, as most of the land is barren or has become uncultivable due to drought. The entire area is *barani* (rain-fed). Some irrigation sources such as community-constructed small channels and tubewells exist in some sites. However, they are insufficient to meet the irrigation needs of available farmland. Scarce arable land and irrigation water make it difficult to make ends meet through this income source.

### 4.2.4 Mines

Marble mines in Khyber provide important employment opportunities for the poor. Better-off men are also involved in the trade of marble. Local people are not paid any royalty on the marble mines. Similarly, in Kurram Agency grey stones are an off-farm income source for the poor. But analysts in Zera Mali Khel (poor sub-site in Kurram) complained that personnel of law enforcement agencies collect most of the stones while disallowing access to local people.

**Figure 4.1: Sources of income for men**, analysed by a group of 10 men in Zera Mali Khel, Kurram Agency



### 4.2.5 Forests and forest products

In the past, forests and forest products provided income opportunities to the poor. These resources enabled local people to earn some income from selling fuelwood and fodder. In South Waziristan and Kurram, picking and selling medicinal plants found in the area was an important source of income for women. Local people, generally from better-off tribes, own the forests in all

sites. For example, the *Mula Gori* tribe in Lawara Maina (Khyber Agency) owns the forest in the sub-site.

*Gur Gury* trees were common in Khyber until about 10-15 years ago. Oak trees in Ghoz Ghari (better-off sub-site in Kurram) provided timber, until indiscriminate cutting by Afghan refugees from the 1980s onwards depleted this resource. Until about 20 years ago apples, grapes and pomegranate orchards in South Waziristan were the main source of income for the poor. Deforestation, persistent drought, and population pressures were cited as the main reasons for the depletion of forests and forest products.

*People had less money but were happy in the past. There were forests, fuelwood, water, livestock and crops. We collected wood from the forest and earned money. Now Afghan refugees and overpopulation have destroyed this resource, making us very poor. (A group of 14 poor/very poor women in Ghoz Ghari, Kurram Agency)*

Analysts also mourned the loss of shade as the number of trees has declined in Khyber and Kurram making the harsh summer months even more miserable. In Murad Dhand (poor sub-site in Khyber) the Forest Department planted Eucalyptus trees during the 1990s. As expected, the trees grew quickly but they also further depleted the already precious groundwater.

*Without fuelwood we can't even boil water. (A poor woman in Murad Dhand, Khyber Agency)*

### **4.3 Severely inadequate public services**

#### **4.3.1 Health and education facilities**

In all three sites of FATA, one of the most striking features was the abysmal state of public services. Only two BHUs were found in six sub-sites where the PPA was conducted. One of the BHUs was in Murad Dhand (poor sub-site in Khyber). It was in fact just a building designated as a BHU – there was no staff or facilities. This 'ghost' BHU was situated away from the main village. The second BHU was found in Ghoz Ghari (better-off sub-site in Kurram). This too was in a ghost-like condition except that there was a Traditional Birth Attendant (TBA) and an EPI technician. There were no public health facilities in South Waziristan. In Lawara Maina (better-off sub-site in Khyber) there was an ill-equipped hospital served by staff on an irregular basis.

*The BHU in our village is just a building. It never opened. There is no doctor or medicines. We are forced to go to Peshawar for health care. We have to spend a lot of money taken as loans to reach these facilities. (A group of women in Murad Dhand)*

There was only one veterinary centre in the three sites. Situated in Lawara Maina (better-off sub-site in Khyber), this public service is also ineffectual as it

has been non-functional since its inaugural in 1990. As livestock rearing is an important source of income for local people, the lack of veterinary services has a significant adverse affect on their income potential.

The state of educational facilities is also characterised by lack of access and poor quality. However, they are relatively slightly better than public services for health.

**Table 4.3: Educational facilities in the FATA sub-sites**

Agency	Educational Facilities	
	Sub-site A (poor)	Sub-site B (better-off)
South Waziristan	<u>Spaley Porn</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One public primary school for boys</li> <li>• One public primary school for girls</li> <li>• One <i>maktab</i> school for boys</li> </ul>	<u>Gul Kach</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One public high school for boys</li> <li>• Two private schools</li> </ul>
Kurram	<u>Zera Mali Khel</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One public school for boys</li> </ul>	<u>Ghoz Ghari</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One public primary school for girls</li> <li>• One public high school for boys</li> </ul>
Khyber	<u>Murad Dhand</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One public primary school for boys</li> </ul>	<u>Lawara Maina</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Two public primary schools for boys</li> <li>• One public high school for boys</li> <li>• Three public primary schools for girls</li> <li>• One <i>maktab</i> school for boys</li> </ul>

Access to educational facilities is clearly inadequate, with the poorer sub-sites worse off. Gender-disaggregated analysis indicates a wide disparity between access to education for boys and girls. In the three poor sub-sites there is only one government primary school for girls compared to three primary schools and a *maktab* (religious) school for boys.

In all cases the quality of education was considered to be poor. In Ghoz Ghari (better-off sub-site in Kurram) the school teacher at the primary school for girls had been absent for the past several years. And in the same sub-site, the high school for boys had no sanitation and drinking water facilities. The few private schools established in the area were not accessible due to the high rates of school fees charged by these educational institutions.

#### 4.3.2 Infrastructure

Most areas were not accessible by metalled roads. In some cases such as in Murad Dhand (poor sub-site in Khyber) and Zera Mali Khel (poor sub-site in Kurram), local people had constructed a non-metalled road to increase their access and mobility. In South Waziristan a non-metalled road enabled access to Afghanistan.



Electricity was available to some sub-sites. However there were strident complaints about consistent low voltage and excessive load shedding, some times lasting for many days or even weeks.

*To repair faults in electricity lines we have to bring WAPDA's lineman from Wana. We pay Rs.900 for transport and at least Rs.400 for the lineman's services. (A group of men in Gul Kach, South Waziristan)*

*We cannot use an electric fan due to low voltage, but we have to pay the bills. We do not benefit from this service. (A group of poor women in Spaley Porn, South Waziristan)*

A few households in Lawara Maina (better-off sub-site in Khyber) and Ghaz Ghari (better-off sub-site in Kurram) had telephones. Lawara Maina also had one post office.

### **4.3.3 Credit**

Credit is required to meet health care expenses, to pay *wulwar*, to pay fines imposed under the FCR, and to pay for losses in gambling. In all three sites there was no access to formal credit facilities. Relatives and neighbours were the only source of credit for local people. Household purchases, such as sugar, rice and flour, are also made on credit extended by shopkeepers. Although shopkeepers do not charge interest, they sell items on credit at a higher rate than those sold on cash payment.

## **4.4 Meagre opportunities to enhance human potential**

Knowledge and skills in farming and livestock rearing are the core human capital of poor men and women. In addition, men have skills in extracting marble and precious stones and they are also able to perform daily wage labour in urban centres like Peshawar and Karachi. Women use their knowledge of medicinal plants and herbs to enhance their income. A few women are also skilled in embroidery.

Ill-health, physical weakness, and low nutritional status deplete the levels of human capital of the poor and adversely affect their ability to improve their well-being.

The lack of educational or skill development facilities severely restricts the ability of poor people to explore and maximise their human potential. Interestingly, the analysis of poverty did not make any connection between the presence of educational facilities, even though they are inadequate and of poor quality, and well-being.

#### **4.5 Tribes and clans: determinants of social capital**

The most striking form of social capital of the people in FATA is their tribal and clan identity. These identities are strong, and dominate many aspects of the lives of local people. Tribal identities influence decisions about where people live, whom they marry, and who is supported in a conflict. Tribal identities also define voting patterns.

Tribal identities determine a household's access to charity, as people tend to help their own tribes in times of need. For women of better-off households, they also determine the extent of their mobility. Women of a certain tribe cannot leave their *mohalla* and cross into a *mohalla* of another tribe. Ironically, however, poverty sometimes increase mobility of poor women, as they have to work in fields and forests for food and income, and walk great distances to fetch water.

Tribal identity is also the basis of determining the extent of political power through the *nikkat* system. This system is most pronounced in South Waziristan. The *nikkat* system and its impact on poverty are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six.

In contrast with tribal identities, the impact of religious or sectarian identities on people's livelihood is relatively modest. A clear distinction between tribal and religious identities would be overly simplistic as there is significant influence of religious understanding within tribal cultures. However, the intent here is to distinguish traditional tribal identities with purely religious ones. In Khyber, religious identity has negligible influence on the lives of the poor. In Kurram, outside interests rather than local people have brought sectarian differences between Shias and Sunnis into sharp focus. This is a recent phenomenon that has led to some violent conflicts. In South Waziristan, Afghanistan's Taliban and their local allies have held sway since mid-1990s. This influence both draws on and highlights religious and sectarian identities.

Apart from tribal, clan and religious identities, there is no other basis of forming social capital at an individual or household level.

#### **4.6 Power and powerlessness: political capital**

Tribal identity, gender and age are key factors that form an axis determining influence levels. Older and middle-aged males from powerful tribes hold sway over decision-making in the three sites. In particular, male domination in decision-making at all levels is vividly evident. Women are generally excluded from decision-making processes, even if decisions directly affect their lives.

At the household level, a male elder, often also the head of the household, is in control. He makes all decisions regarding the household, including those related to household income and its sources, education, health, marriage, and conflicts. When needed, he consults with other male members. Young men and boys are also generally excluded from decision-making at the household

level. Due to greater decision-making power and control, the male elders are generally better-off than other members of the household.

**Table 4.4: Comparison of well-being within households, analysed by a group of 14 very poor women in Spaley Porn, South Waziristan**

	Old Men	Old Women	Young Men	Young Women	Children
Better looked after in the HH*	●●●●	●●●●	●●●	●●	●●
Obedied by other members	●●●●	●●●	●●●●	●	●●
Access to good clothes	●●●●	●●●●	●●●	●	●●
Access to good food	●●●●	●●●●	●●●	●	●●
Access to better health care	●●●●	●●●●	●●●	●	●●
	20	19	16	6	10

Note: The matrix compares well-being of old and young women and men, and children by scoring points using a scale of 1-5, with 5 having the highest value.

\* HH = household

At the community level the main decision-making forum is the traditional *jirga*. The membership of the *jirga* is restricted to male heads of households belonging to influential tribes and clans. At this level, women as well as the poor have little power to influence decisions. The *jirga* also serves as the local conflict resolution forum, thus restricting access of women and the poor to justice.

## CHAPTER FIVE – VULNERABILITY

### 5.1 Introduction

Poverty can be chronic, a life-long condition that has a high probability of being transmitted from generation to generation. However, this is not necessarily so. Local analysis in FATA showed that the lives of poor people are changeable, and that they evolve in a number of different ways. Individuals, households and communities can move into and out of poverty as a result of short-term shocks, long-term trends and seasonal variations. It is important for policy purposes to understand how this happens and to consider what might be done to minimise both the risks and the potential negative impacts. This chapter examines the factors which poor people in FATA are vulnerable to and the consequences upon their lives and livelihood strategies.

### 5.2 Trends affecting the well-being of the poor

#### 5.2.1 Decreasing rainfall

Analysis of rainfall patterns over the past few decades indicated a steady decline over the past 20 years. This, coupled with devastating drought conditions over the six years preceding the PPA, has had a crippling effect on the livelihoods of poor people that are highly dependent on natural resources. Water shortage adds to the already high burden of poor women, as they have to spend more time and effort fetching drinking water from great distances.

*“Pani mein ameerī hain” – there is well-being in water. (A poor woman in Spaley Porn)*

**Table 5.1: Impacts of trends in natural resources on social groups, analysed by a group of poor men in Gul Kach (better-off sub-site, South Waziristan)**

Changes	Poor				Better-off			
	Young man	Young women	Old men	Old women	Young men	Young women	Old men	Old women
Shortage of water	•••	••• ••	•	•••	•	•••	-	-
Reduced agricultural yields	••• ••	•••	•	•	••••	••	-	-
Decrease in livestock	••• ••	•••	•	•	••••	••	-	-
	13	11	3	5	9	7	0	0

Note: The matrix compares the level of impact of changes in water, yields and livestock on young and old women and men by scoring points using a scale of 1-5, with 5 having the highest value.

### **5.2.2 Deforestation and floods**

The shrinking forest cover has affected local people in a number of ways. First, they are deprived of income sources from forest and forest products. Second, their access to fuelwood, fodder, wild fruits, vegetables, and medicinal plants to meet their household food and health needs is reduced. Finally, there is greater devastation from floods due to declining forest cover.

### **5.2.3 Rising unemployment**

The drought has also affected employment opportunities as there has been a decline in agricultural labour requirements due to the reduction in cultivable land and productivity. In South Waziristan, the depletion of medicinal plants has adversely affected the income potential of local people, particularly women who pick and sell this valuable resource. The steady loss of livestock due to both decreases in fodder availability and disease also contributes to increasing unemployment. The absence of alternative off-farm employment sources has rendered many people jobless in the FATA sub-sites.

One of the key off-farm sources of income in South Waziristan is mining precious stones. However, excessive mining has depleted this resource and made it less accessible. As local people do not have the technology required to make full use of this resource, this income source has become restricted in its accessibility.

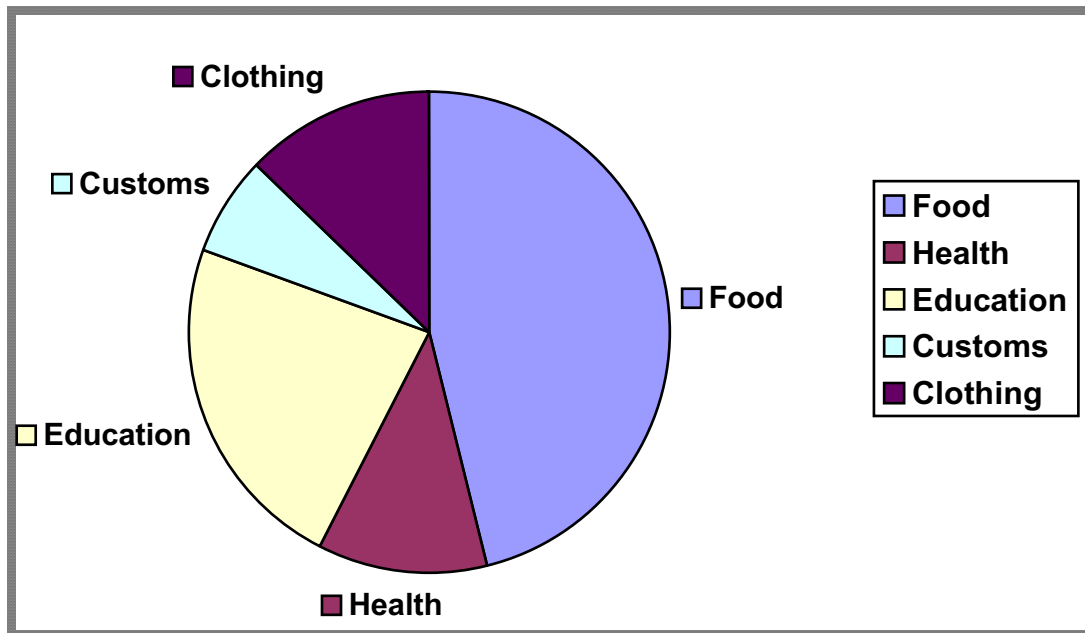
### **5.2.4 Inflation**

The combination of diminishing incomes, an increasing number of dependents, and inflation has a devastating effect on the poor.

*The government continuously increases prices. We cannot buy basic necessities. The government should control prices so that we can survive. (A poor woman of Gul Kach, South Waziristan)*

In Murad Dhand (Khyber) average income of poor households from labour is about Rs.1,000-1,500 which is insufficient to meet the monthly household expenses which average around Rs.5,000. Analysts estimated that 60-70 per cent of household income is spent on food, education and healthcare expenses in better-off households. In poorer households the ratio spent on food is higher, but there is often no money available for meeting healthcare needs. The poor spend money on healthcare only in emergency situations.

**Figure 5.1: Distribution of monthly household expenses of a better-off household in Murad Dhand, Khyber Agency**



### 5.2.5 Influx of Afghan refugees

In Kurram, which has the closest proximity to the Afghanistan border of the PPA sites, analysts included the increasing influx of Afghan refugees as a significant trend affecting their livelihood. The growing number of Afghan refugees has resulted in increased competition for jobs in the labour market, loss of land ownership (as land was allocated for Afghan refugee camps and also bought by some Afghans), deforestation (some Afghan families allegedly cut down oak trees in the area), and increased pressure on rangeland as the Afghan refugee families brought their livestock.

*In the 1980s the government asked us to let the Afghan refugees stay on humanitarian grounds. We agreed on the condition that their movement should be restricted and that they should not be allowed access to the “Mazari” plant from which we make a living by making baskets. But the Afghans completely destroyed the plant and also created social problems and conflicts. (A group of poor men in Zera Mali Khel, Kurram)*

### 5.2.6 Increasing unproductive expenditure

#### 5.2.6.1 *Wulwar* (Bride Price)

*Wulwar* is an established custom in which a prospective groom pays money to the family of his bride. Until *wulwar* is paid a marriage is not solemnised. This custom has reportedly evolved into a means of exploiting women as they are sold to the highest “bidder”. Elders in a household, generally men, make

decisions about *wulwar* and marriages, at the exclusion of the woman to be married. The consent of the bride-to-be is never obtained.

*We sell our daughters to meet our basic needs of food and shelter. We know this is a sin but we are forced to commit it for our own survival. (A group of 14 poor and very poor women in Ghoz Ghari, Kurram Agency)*

*Wulwar* also increases economic difficulties. In South Waziristan the price of *wulwar* is around Rs.100,000 in Spaley Porn (poor sub-site), and about Rs.300,000 in Gul Kach (better-off sub-site). At one time, *wulwar* rates in Gul Kach had reached Rs.500,000. A *fatwa* (religious diktat) against such high rates of *wulwar* reduced the rate to the present Rs.300,000 per bride. But compared to about 30 years ago, the present rates show a marked increase. In the past the price of *wulwar* in the same areas ranged from Rs.5,000 to Rs.25,000. Men strive hard to collect enough money to be able to pay *wulwar* in a lump sum or in instalments, or face the possibility of remaining bachelors.

**Box 5.1: The heavy price of *wulwar* – two case studies**

Hukam Khan lives in Kurram Agency. In the past he was well-off. He had land and livestock. When his children grew up his troubles began. He sold everything he owned to pay *wulwar* for the brides of his eight sons. Now he does not have any land or livestock. There are few income sources for his eight sons or himself. They have to feed a family of thirty grandchildren. Hukam Khan has had to borrowed around Rs.50,000.

Some 30 years ago, Haji Ganday from South Waziristan was well-off. He lived in Afghanistan and owned 30 goats and eight cows. After the Russian invasion in Afghanistan in 1978 he took refuge in Pakistan along with his children – four daughters and six sons. He arranged the marriage of four sons by trading *wulwar* received for the marriage of his four daughters. However, he had to pay *wulwar* for the marriage of his two remaining sons. He also constructed houses for his four sons. The expenditure incurred in paying *wulwar* and constructing houses has completely impoverished him. He sold almost everything he owned in the process. He now has a small piece of land that is not cultivable because of the drought.

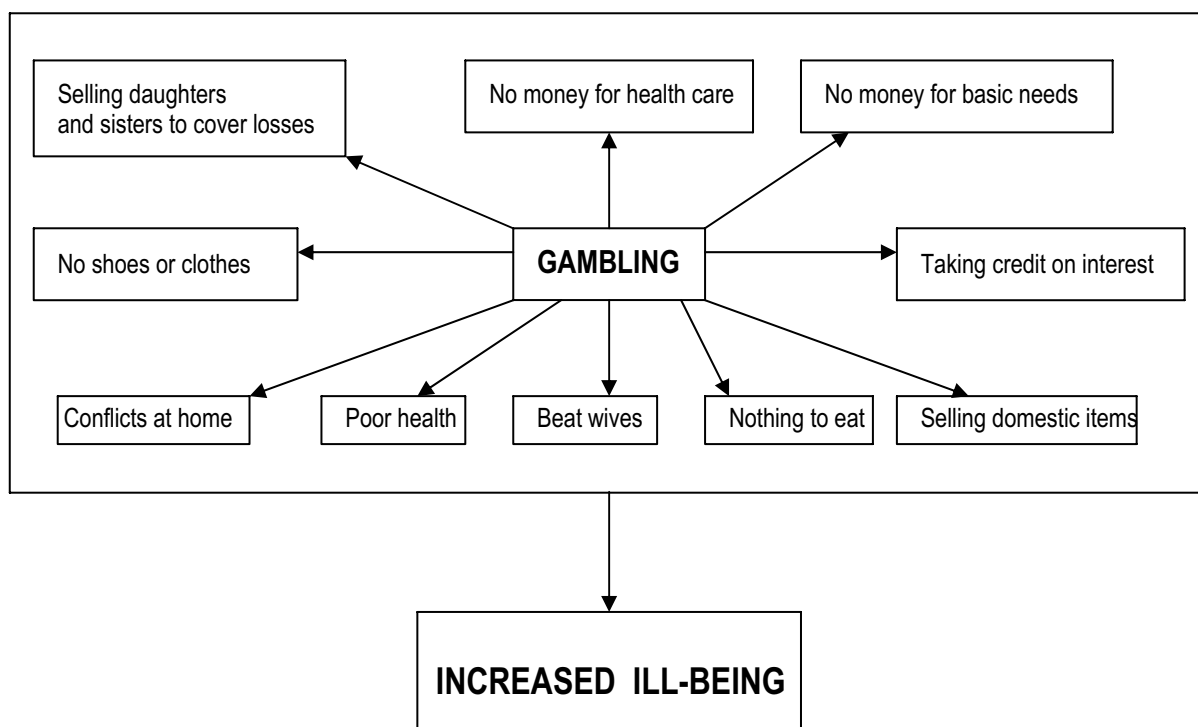
### 5.2.6.2 Gambling

Local analysts in the PPA sites explained that there were several cases in which households had become impoverished due to gambling losses incurred by the male head of the household. Gambling not only results in the sale of assets such as land, livestock, and homes, but is also a cause of oppression and violence against women. Losses in gambling often breed resentment and frustration in men, which they attempt to relieve by beating their wives. There are also cases in which women have been sold to cover losses.

**Box 5.2: Losses in gambling**

Mr Fazl-e-Khuda in Khyber Agency retired from army service. His gambling, however, resulted in huge losses and increased borrowing. He has borrowed almost Rs.9,000 by giving his pension documents in lien. His monthly pension of Rs.900 is paid as interest with the borrowed capital still outstanding. His wife borrows from neighbours to feed their children, who do not go to school, and only wear hand-me-downs. Due to their desperate condition, Mr Fazl-e-Khuda's wife said she is prepared to sell her daughters, but they are too young at present to get a good price.

**Figure 5.2: Impact of gambling on the lives of the poor**, analysed by a group of poor and very poor women in Khadi Kaley of Lawara Maina (better-off sub site), Khyber Agency



### 5.3 Shocks affecting the well-being of the poor

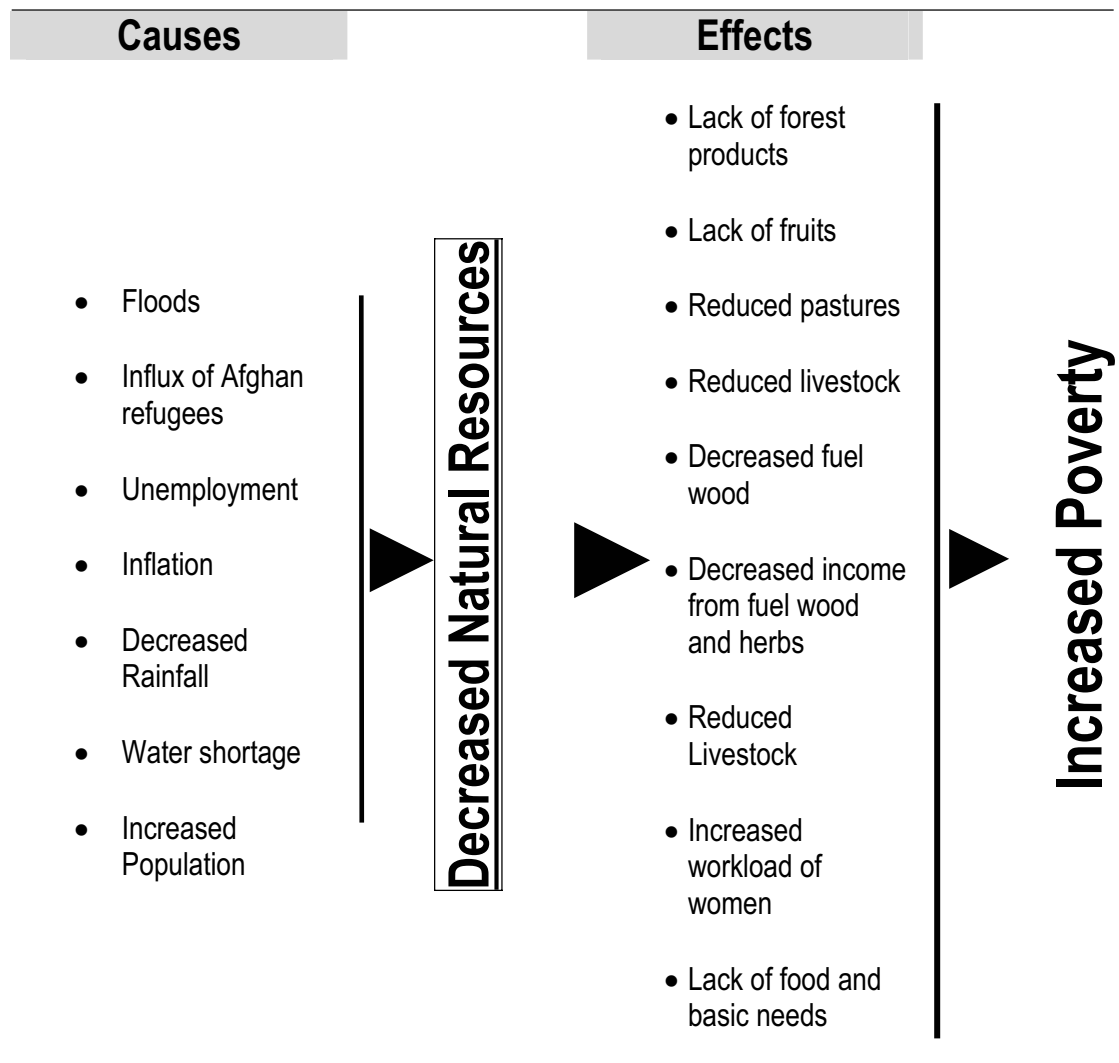
#### 5.3.1 Drought

The most significant shock to the livelihood of the poor is the persistent drought conditions prevalent over the six years preceding the PPA. As discussed earlier, the drought has resulted in the loss of cultivable land, productivity, medicinal plants, and rangeland. As local people, and particularly the poor, depend heavily on livestock rearing and farming, the drought has had a devastating effect on them.



The drought has also depleted drinking water availability in the FATA sites. This has affected all people, particularly women who now spend many hours in search of water.

**Figure 5.3: Causes and effects of decreasing natural resources,** analysed by a group of poor men in Salo Khel Mohallah, Ghoz Ghari (better-off sub site), Kurram Agency



### 5.3.2 Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1978

Until the 1978 Russian invasion many households in the sub-sites of South Waziristan accessed jobs and rangeland for their livestock in Afghanistan. The invasion stopped local people’s access to these resources and opportunities and reduced their income potential.

### 5.3.3 Flooding in the Gomal river

Another shock experienced by the poor in South Waziristan is flooding in the Gomal river. Seasonal flooding occurs in the monsoon periods of March to April and July to August. However, the frequency and intensity of the floods have diminished since the mid-1990s due to reduced rainfall in the catchment area of the Gomal river in Wana (FATA) and in Afghanistan.

The flooding causes loss of lives and livestock, damages crops, erodes soil, and reduces soil fertility. However, groups of men and women in Gul Kach said that there are also some benefits from the floods. The floods bring logs in their flow, thus enhancing access to fuelwood. And if the timing of a flood is right it can serve as an important source of irrigation water for crops.

**Table 5.2: Negative impacts of flooding in the River Gomal and suggestions for government action**, analysed by a group of poor women in Gul Kach (better-off sub site), South Waziristan

Floods in River Gomal	
Negative impacts	Suggestions for public action to mitigate negative impacts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Crops are damaged</li> <li>• Soil is eroded</li> <li>• Lives are lost</li> <li>• Livestock deaths occur</li> <li>• Fertility of land is reduced</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Construct a bund around the River Gomal</li> <li>• Construct small irrigation canals to reduce flow pressure</li> </ul>

*Floods don't distinguish between rich and poor. A flood takes away all that comes in its way. (A poor woman in Gul Kach, South Waziristan)*

### 5.3.4 Death, disability and disease

Death of an income earner, usually the male head of household, is the kind of shock that often pushes an entire household into poverty. Women generally have a limited asset base upon which to fall back on. If they have the misfortune of becoming a widow, they seldom have the means to survive without support.

Disability and disease are also major shocks that increase the vulnerability of poor people. Healthcare is a luxury the poor cannot afford. If the household income earner is afflicted with disease or disability, the entire household's

vulnerability is exacerbated due to the dual effect of loss of income and the need to meet healthcare expenses.

**Box 5.3: Woes of a widow**

Kaptan Bibi is from Nawar Kalay, Murad Dhand (poor sub-site) in Khyber Agency. She wistfully remembers the good old days when her husband was alive. He earned Rs.2,000 per month working as a driver. They were happy and well-off. Sometime during 1980, Kaptan Bibi's husband died. She became a widow. At the time she had two sons and one daughter. Her daughter was 15 years old when she died of a curable illness because her widowed mother did not have money for her treatment. One of Kaptan Bibi's sons died after he learnt that he had failed his matriculation exam. Kaptan Bibi, now 55 years old, lives with her only surviving son, and her six grandchildren. Her son earns Rs.3,000 per month, not enough to meet the basic needs of the household. They are barely surviving. When Kaptan Bibi was well-off, she was respected. She also had abundant food. Now she is not shown respect and she begs for her survival.

Livestock are an important asset for the poor. Livestock can provide income, food, and be sold in times of crisis or emergency. Livestock disease or death is therefore a major shock endangering the livelihoods of the poor.

**Box 5.4: Loss of livestock**

Mula Wazir in Spaley Porn (poor sub-site), South Waziristan, had 200 sheep and goats. He was well-off. In 2001, his livestock was afflicted with an unusual disease. There is no veterinary facility. Some livestock died whilst others were sold by Mula Wazir at prices less than their market value. Now, Mula Wazir has to borrow to meet food expenses of his household. Now he is poor.

## 5.4 Seasonality

Multiple factors induce periods of stress throughout the year. In the winter months from November to March, the poor face shortages of water and fuelwood. The latter is due to increased consumption needed to keep warm. Labour opportunities decrease, reducing income in this period. The poor depend on borrowings to make it through this period of stress.

In the summer and monsoon months – May through to September – the poor deal with heat, hailstorms and rain. During this period there is increased on-farm workload. The landless work as tenants. Women, particularly those whose male relatives out-migrate in search of work, also work in the fields. Water shortages during November to March also increase women's workload as they are responsible for fetching water.

Diseases afflict the poor throughout the year. Poor people rely on traditional medicinal cures unless the disease becomes severe. In serious conditions, local people access hospitals in the nearest town or in Peshawar but this incurs enormous travel and related expenses. Livestock also suffer diseases throughout the year. The lack of veterinary facilities makes serious disease in livestock a major cause of stress and concern.

**Table 5.3: Periods of stress and the causes and effects, Kurram Agency**

Cause/Effect of Stress	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Cold												
Heat												
Windstorms												
Hailstorms												
Rain												
Thunder												
Floods												
Diseases (human)												
Livestock diseases												
Crop diseases												
Shortage of water												
Shortage of fuelwood												
Shortage of food												
Shortage of labour												
Increased workload												
Increased borrowings												

## 5.5 Moving out of poverty

Personal enterprise, access to decision makers, and good luck are key factors that enable a household to move out of poverty. It appears that institutions, laws or policies play no significant role in enabling households to make this step. Access to overseas employment opportunities is also highlighted in the case studies of households moving out of poverty.

### Box 5.5: Overseas employment – a route out of poverty

Ali Mat Khan of Zera Mali Khel (poor sub-site) in Kurram Agency was a poor man. He borrowed money to pay for a visa for his son, Faiz Mohammad, to travel to the Gulf where he secured a job. Later Ali Mat Khan sent two other sons abroad. With the remittances received, Ali Mat Khan and his son Gulzar Hussain opened a shop in Zera Mali Khel. Once the shop started doing well, they opened two more shops in Parachinar (the nearest big town). Now Ali Mat Khan and his family are well-off.

**Box 5.6: Overseas employment – from poverty to prosperity**

Haleem Khan of Kurram Agency, was poor. He did not own any land or livestock. He earned a living by working on land, and looking after livestock, owned by others. In 1973, his family's fortunes turned for the better when Haleem Khan's elder brother, Dawli Khan, was able to borrow enough money to pay for a visa to the United Arab Emirates (UAE). A year later, Dawli Khan, by then employed in the UAE, secured a job for Haleem Khan in Qatar. Haleem Khan in turn helped his brothers Hujmat Khan and Kamin Khan get employment in the UAE. Through their income earned abroad, Haleem Khan and his brothers were able to move their household out of poverty and become prosperous. They now own land, livestock, and homes. They even lend money to the needy and help others to access employment abroad.

**Box 5.7: Personal enterprise and corruption**

Haji Said Khan, a *malik* in Gul Kach, South Waziristan, was very poor in the past. He gathered fuelwood and timber locally and sold it in Punjab. He used savings from this trade to set up a flour mill (*chakki*) in his village. The profits from the mill helped increase his stature in the area, and influence with the government.

As his influence as a *malik* increased, he was allotted seven or eight government jobs. In the tribal areas, *maliks* are allotted class IV government services (ie peons or watchmen in schools and BHUs) and they are able to recommend local individuals who could be employed in these positions. Often, they take the positions themselves or place their relatives in these government posts. At times they also "auction" each post or enter into an agreement with a "buyer" to share the monthly salary received for the post. These jobs further increased Haji Said Khan's influence and the well-being of his household.

## CHAPTER SIX – SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND GENDER RELATIONS

### 6.1 Introduction

Socio-economic relations are important assets upon which the poor must rely when other resources are inaccessible. Poor individuals and groups that lack social support or find themselves at the bottom of hierarchical and oppressive social structures are less able to cope with negative shocks to their livelihoods, and more likely to slip into destitution. In addition to their role in securing livelihoods, however, social-economic relations are also extremely important in terms of people’s sense of identity, citizenship, community belonging and honour, and as such are important in their own right.

### 6.2 Local power relations

As mentioned in Chapter Four, tribal identity is a pervasive aspect of the lives of the people of FATA. It is a key determinant of the extent of power of individuals and households. Tribal identity along with gender and age are key factors that form an axis of influence. Greater power also leads to affluence, which in turn increases influence. A middle-aged or elderly male from an influential tribe presents the profile of a powerful individual. Influential households belong to dominant tribes with economic power. Powerful individuals and households dominate decision-making processes, and have primacy in access to and control over resources and opportunities.

**Table 6.1: Access to assets and rights of poor, better-off, and well-off women and men, analysed by a group of poor men, Gul Kach (better off sub-site), South Waziristan**

	Poor		Better-off		Well-off	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Access to education	●●●		●●●●		●●●●●	
Access to health	●	●	●●	●●	●●●	●●●
Access to drinking water	●●	●●	●●	●●	●●	●●
Freedom of expression	●●	●	●●	●	●●●	●●
Right to vote	●●●●		●●●●		●●●●●	

Note: The matrix compares the power of different groups by scoring points using a scale of 1-5, with 5 having the highest value.

The powerful in these areas make all major collective decisions related to voting, resolution of petty and major disputes, etc. The institution of the *jirga* provides those with power a mechanism to control decision making in the area. The *jirga* is a prime decision making forum. Its membership is restricted to males from powerful tribes. Women are not allowed entry into the *jirga*. Males from less influential tribes and households are also generally ignored.

The lack of effectiveness and credibility of the judicial system increases the dominance of the *jirga*, which also serves as the main conflict resolution forum.

*The jirga consists of shaitans (devils). They do not provide justice to the poor. They favour the rich. (A poor woman in Murad Dhand, Khyber Agency)*

Due to the continued practice of the ancient *nikkat* (apportionment) system, tribal, sub-tribal and clan identities play a crucial role in the lives and livelihoods of local people. Of the three agencies included in the PPA, the *nikkat* system is practiced most consistently in South Waziristan. Under this system, rights of access to and control over resources and service are apportioned according to the number of warriors in each tribe. This apportionment is used for division of both private and public resources and services. Even spoils from a robbery are given to tribes according to the ratio determined by the *nikkat* system. The government also uses ratios assigned by the *nikkat* system for allocating development schemes.

The number of *maliks* (key intermediaries between the local population and the government) selected by the government and local people from each tribe also conforms to the ratios apportioned under the *nikkat* system. Each *malik* is given a government stipend. The *maliks* are in charge of law and order, and all public sector interventions, making them and the tribes they belong to all-powerful in the area.

*The government should not route development interventions through maliks. They usurp funds for themselves and do not use it for the welfare of the poor. (A very poor woman in Lawara Maina, Khyber Agency)*

A more recent factor determining power status is religious identity and affiliation with religio-political groups. This factor is far less dominant than traditional tribal identities. In Kurram, differences between the two main sects, Shias and Sunnis, reportedly instigated by non-local interests have led to some violent clashes. Since the mid-1990s, Afghanistan's Taliban and their local allies have exercised influence in South Waziristan and in some parts of Kurram (particularly in the better off sub-site, Ghaz Ghari). They impose their rules and issue *fatwas* (religious diktat) on local people. For example, the Taliban and some local *maulvis* have issued a *fatwa* prohibiting any interaction with NGOs. The *fatwa* calls for the murder of NGO workers if seen anywhere in South Waziristan. This also created some problems for the PPA team, as its members were drawn from various NGOs.

### **6.3 Social exclusion**

Individuals and households from non-influential tribes and clans are marginalised as the system of decision-making and control in the three sites rests on tribal identities. For example, the *Dotani* and *Suleman Khel* tribes in

two sub-sites of South Waziristan are poor because they have limited access to public facilities and development interventions due to their low share in the *nikkat* system.

Marginalised individuals and households draw on traditional social cohesion to cope with difficult times. Social cohesion is also based on tribal identities. Individuals and households belonging to the same tribe or sub-tribe support each other in times of sorrow or celebration. It is common for all related households to gather for weddings and funerals. People also help each other in times of need by sharing food and other household items. While this form of mutual support and social cohesion persists, it has eroded over the years. One reason for diminished support is economic pressure. For households struggling to make ends meet it is difficult to assist other households in need.

Other means of encouraging social cohesion include the bonding achieved through gathering for various events or occasions. For example, the tradition of *ashar* has historically enhanced social cohesion. This is a form of mutual support and collective work in which the community responds to the call of individual households for help in tasks such as harvesting or constructing a house by volunteering labour for these tasks. Individuals offering labour are aware that this help will be reciprocated when their households need it. However, there is a decline in this traditional practice of support.

*Previously people worked together. Now they are not united. Everyone works alone, and do not support each other. (A group of women in Murad Dhand (poor sub-site), Khyber Agency)*

**Table 6.2: Trends in participation in social events and occasions in Spaley Porn (poor sub-site), South Waziristan, analysed by a group of nine poor men and three boys**

	1980s	1990s	Present
Friday prayers	●●	●●●	●●●●●
<i>Eid</i>	●●●●●	●●●	●●
Funerals	●●●●●	●●●	●●
<i>Ashar</i>	●●●●●	●●●	●●
Weddings	●●●●●	●●●	●●
Public meeting on payment of fines under FCR	●	●●●	●●●●●●
Election campaigns	●	●	●●●●●●●●
<i>Jirga</i>	●●●	●●●	●●●●●

Note: Each variable has a total of 10 points spread over the period analysed, i.e., three decades from 1980 to present. An increase or decrease in the number of points allocated to each decade indicates whether people participate more or less for occasion cited in the variable in that period. This in turn indicates a strengthening or erosion in social bonding and cohesion. Weightage of each point is constant as the same number of total points is used for each variable.



Trends in bonding through gatherings are varied. In some cases the gatherings have become more important (ie election campaigns that are a relatively recent events in FATA) whilst in other cases the gatherings have become fewer (ie weddings) because of economic pressures and reduced mobility of women due to restrictions placed upon them by religious elements.

## 6.4 The status of women

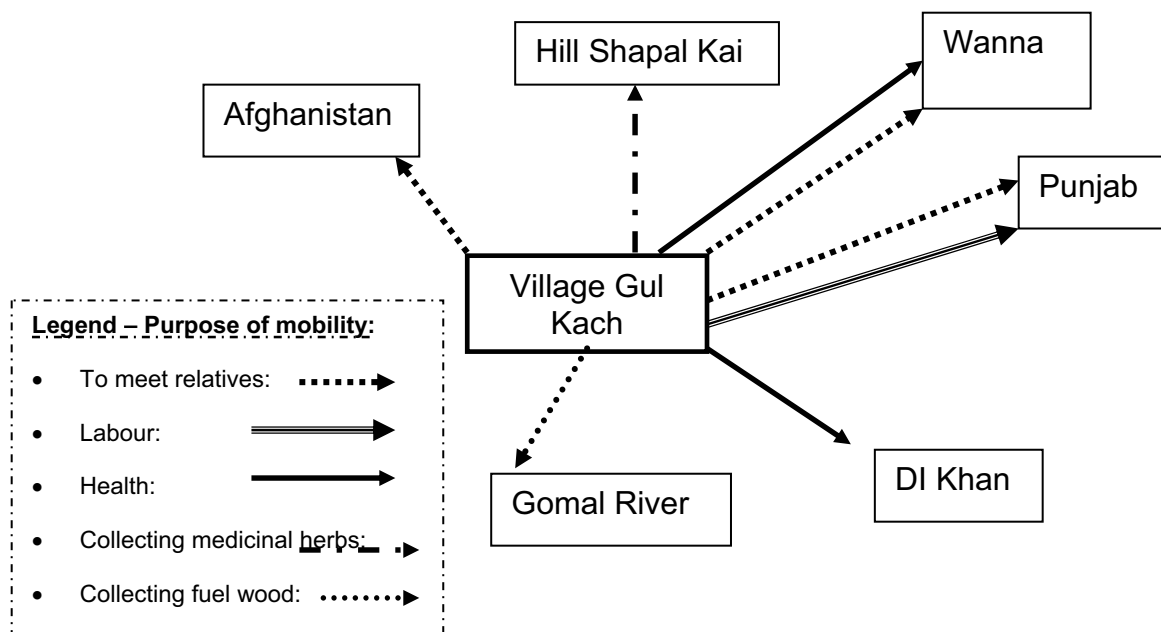
The lives of women in the three sub-sites are characterised by seclusion, limited or total absence of any asset base, and gender-based violence.

### 6.4.1 Seclusion and mobility

*Purdah* is strictly imposed on young girls and women. In the presence of other male members of the family, women are veiled even inside their own homes. They are expected to carry out household chores while maintaining *purdah*. At times girls as young as 10-years-old are also expected to cover themselves.

The rigid tribal culture severely restricts women’s mobility. A young girl in Spaley Porn (poor sub-site) in South Waziristan complained that elders, particularly in-laws, restrict the mobility of women. Often women are not allowed to visit homes belonging to other tribes in the same village. Access to outside the *mohalla* (neighbourhood) or village sphere is restricted to attendance at funerals and marriages. Women afflicted by ill-health are taken to nearby towns or to Peshawar for treatment only when local remedies prove inadequate. Women are only able to access places outside their homes and villages if travelling together with their households.

**Figure 6.1: Mobility of Suleman Khel households, analysed by a group of 10 women in Gul Kach, South Waziristan**



Ironically, increased poverty enables greater mobility for women as they are forced to leave homes in search of income and for other livelihood needs. Collecting and selling fuelwood, straw, and medicinal plants, caring for livestock owned by others, and fetching water for household use are tasks that provide greater mobility to poor women. But even for poor women, the emerging influence of Afghanistan's Taliban and their local allies is creating problems. For example, the Taliban and local *maulvis* have enforced restrictions on women's access to rangeland, thus diminishing their ability to care for livestock.

*There are more restrictions on women now than before. Women are not even allowed to go to the homes of relatives. Now they have little opportunity to meet others. (A poor woman in Murad Dhand (poor sub-site), Khyber Agency)*

#### 6.4.2 Lack of asset base

Another primary aspect of the lives of women in the three sites is the limited or total absence of an asset base. Women have limited access to, and even less control or ownership over, natural capital, particularly land. Even inherited property is denied to them in flagrant violation of both religious and state laws. Access to services related to health and education is restricted due to limited mobility. While the situation of women in this regard is relatively better than in the past, it still remains ineffective in terms of enhancing their well-being. Lack of human and produced capital in turn deprives women of opportunities to actualise their human potential. They are able to use skills such as livestock rearing, farming, and mat-making, but are often not given due benefit or even recognition for their efforts.

**Table 6.3: Changes in the lives of women, analysed by a group of 15 men in Lawara Maina, Khyber Agency**

Variables (related to women)	Decade		
	1971-80	1981-90	1991-2000
Condition of health	●●	●●●	●●●●●
Access to good food	●●	●●●	●●●●●
Access to good clothes	●	●●	●●●●●●●
Access to education			●●●●●●●●●●
Access to household income	●●●●●●●●●●	●	●
Decision making at household level	●●	●●●	●●●●●
Burden of household work	●●●●●	●●●	●●

Note: Each variable has a total of 10 points spread over the period analysed, i.e., three decades from 1971 to present. Increase or decrease in the number of points allocated to each decade indicates whether the variable has increased or decreased in that period. Weightage of each point is constant as the same number of total points is used for each variable.

The underlying reasons for women’s lack of natural, human, or produced capital are the absence of women’s social and political capital. Women do not have an identity of their own. Their identity is linked with that of their closest male family member – their father, brother or husband. As the male-dominated tribal identity is the key determinant of social capital, women reflect this capital as an appendage to males rather than in their own right. Women’s access to political capital is perhaps the most restricted. Women are given no significant role in decision-making. They have little say in issues that affect themselves, their households or the community.

**Table 6.4: Decision-making power for men and women in different tribes, Lawara Maina (better-off sub-site), Khyber Agency**

Decisions	Tribe							
	Tar Khel		Pahar Khel		Ahmad Khel		Daulat Khel	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
<i>At the household level:</i>								
Purchasing household items	•••	••	••••	•	••••	•	•••	••
Participation in weddings	••	•••	••	•••	••	•••	••	•••
Participation in funerals	••	•••	••	•••	••	•••	••	•••
<i>At the community level:</i>								
Settling common disputes	••• ••		••• ••		••• ••		••• ••	
Settling cases of enmity	••• ••		••• ••		••• ••		••• ••	
Public sector development issues	••• ••		••• ••		••• ••		••• ••	
Settling disputes over property	••• ••		••• ••		••• ••		••• ••	

Note: The matrix compares decision-making authority of women and men from different tribes by scoring points using a scale of 1-5, with 5 having the highest value.

### 6.4.3 Gender-based violence

The state of women’s ill-being is exacerbated by the widespread practice of various forms of gender-based violence. The custom of *wulwar* (bride price) as practiced now reduces women to the status of a commodity to be sold to the highest bidder. Rates of *wulwar* range from Rs.100,000 to Rs.300,000 per bride. Often *wulwar* is paid in instalments over a long period spread over many years. Women are seldom consulted on decisions regarding their

marriage. Often women are married off to unsuitable partners for the sake of *wulwar*.

**Box 6.1: *Wulwar* – women as commodities**

A young man in South Waziristan decided to take a second wife. As per tradition, the rate of *wulwar* for a second marriage is doubled. He managed to trade *wulwar* for his second wife by arranging the marriage of his two sisters with two brothers of his bride-to-be. At the time of marriage, his sisters were 20 years and 18 years old. They were married to boys aged 10 and 8 respectively. Both sisters live as maids and do all the household work in the home of their husbands.

Another form of violence is using women as compensation to settle disputes. For example, to settle a murder case the *jirga* may issue a verdict according to which five or six girls (at times of very young age) of the family of the murderer are “married” into the family of the murdered person as compensation for the crime. The girls given as compensation are treated miserably in the homes of their husbands. They are often married to disabled persons or are made second wives of married men. At times the girls are not allowed to ever meet their own families after their marriage, and are completely at the mercy of their in-laws.

In South Waziristan, as per the custom of *Spin Thore*, any couple suspected of having an illicit relationship are murdered. Often, the alleged suspicion of an illicit relationship is a cover for more sinister motives for killing the accused woman and/or man. At times, land inheritance is the real motive behind the murder.

## **6.5 Crime and conflict**

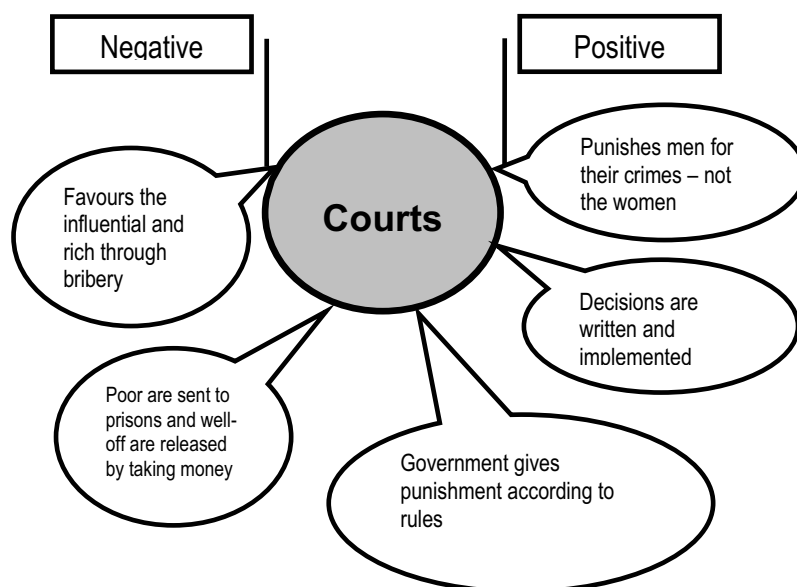
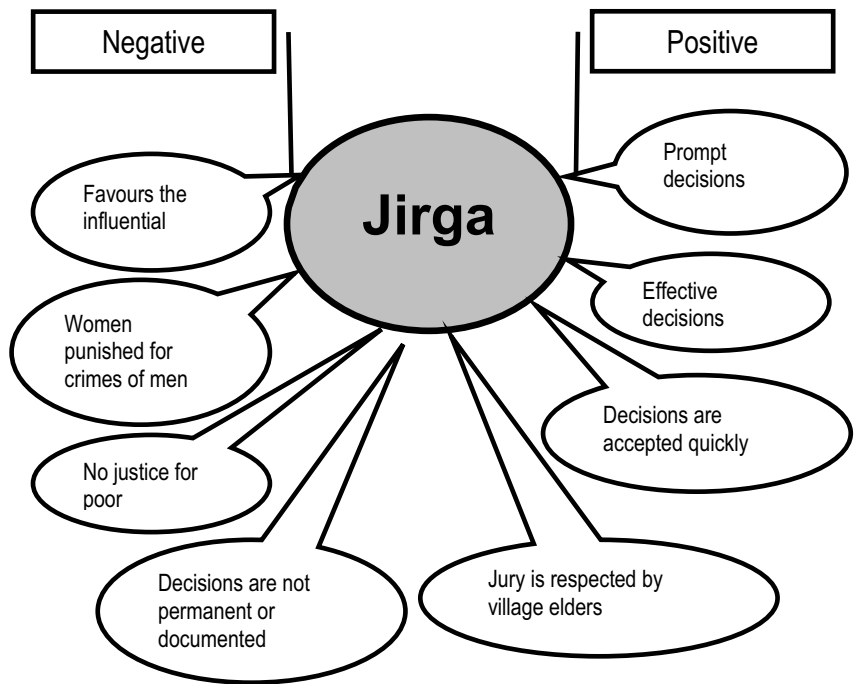
Land disputes are the main cause of conflicts in all three sites. Access to common property like rangeland and water also cause clashes. Petty disagreements flare up on livestock theft and brawls between children. In some areas of Kurram sectarian strife has been experienced in the recent past. Every major, and at times even minor, conflict is liable to draw in the involvement of the entire tribe or sub-tribe of conflicting households. At times conflicts can turn bloody. There are also instances of long drawn out conflicts, affecting more than one generation.

The local *jirga* is the main conflict resolution forum. Membership of the *jirga* is restricted to males from influential households. The importance of this forum is magnified due to the lack of effectiveness and credibility of the formal justice system.

While the *jirga* is appreciated for its prompt decisions, it does not provide the poor any access to justice as they are often excluded from this decision-making forum. Women also have no access to the *jirga*. In fact, as mentioned

earlier, women resent *jirga* decisions in which women are given in marriage to settle disputes between two feuding tribes. Through this practice innocent women are made to pay for the crimes of men in their households and tribes.

**Figure 6.2: Comparison of *jirgas* and courts as providers of justice, analysed by a group of 11 women in Spaley Porn, (poor sub-site) South Waziristan**



Clause 40 of the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) is another mechanism that punishes the innocent. It stipulates collective punishments and fines for crimes and penalises an entire tribe or sub-tribe for the offence of an individual. This regulation unjustly punishes innocent individuals only on the basis of tribal identity.

A group of about 40 male analysts in Zera Mali Khel in Kurram Agency claimed that this clause is the main cause of their poverty. Under this regulation, group fines imposed can range from Rs.5,000 to Rs.200,000. To pay such heavy fines many take loans by pledging land. At times, those fined have to resort to selling land or even their daughters. A group of women in Spaley Porn in South Waziristan added that the *Khasadar* Force is paid from the amount collected through these fines from poor people.

## CHAPTER SEVEN – INSTITUTIONS

### 7.1 Introduction

*Institutions* include both *structures* (eg organisations, levels of government) and *processes* (policies, laws, social norms). Of central importance is the extent to which institutions hinder or facilitate different people's efforts to secure livelihoods. Institutions can affect:

- access to capital and livelihood strategies;
- *terms of exchange* between different types of capital;
- *returns* to livelihood strategies; and,
- sense of inclusion, citizenship, well-being.

Analysts identified a wide array of both formal and informal institutions that were relevant in the context of their ability and opportunities to form livelihood strategies.

### 7.2 Social services

Public service institutions in all three sites of FATA were either in an abysmal state or completely absent.

*Our government is blind. It cannot see the problems of the poor. They provide to the influential people who do not need their help. But the poor remain deprived and ignored. (An old man in Murad Dhand (poor sub-site), Khyber Agency)*

Table 7.1 presents a list of institutions providing access to education, health, and livestock care in the three PPA sites.

### 7.3 Infrastructure and utilities

Poor infrastructure and communication facilities are common. Access to outside the village areas was restricted due to the poor condition or a total lack of metalled roads. In Zera Mali Khel (poor sub-site in Kurram Agency) the community have made a *kacha* pathway to improve their mobility. But even this was in a very poor condition. In Gul Kach (non-poor sub-site in South Waziristan) a *kacha* road provides access to Afghanistan. Electrification was achieved in most areas, however the supply of electricity was erratic due to voltage fluctuation. Lodging complaints is not an easy task as access is difficult and redressal even more problematic.

Public sector programmes to alleviate poverty by improving infrastructure and other services, such as the Khushal Pakistan Programme (KPP) suffer from targeting problems. Allocation of schemes has to follow the apportionment designated by the *nikkat* system thus making it difficult to apply needs-based

criteria to the allocation process. For example, out of 128 KPP schemes allocated to Khyber Agency, Tehsil Mula Gori received only eight.

**Table 7.1: Health, education and livestock institutions in the FATA sub-sites**

KHYBER		KURRAM		SOUTH WAZIRISTAN	
Poor	Non-Poor	Poor	Non-Poor	Poor	Non-Poor
Murad Dhand	Lawara Maina	Zera Mali Khel	Ghoz Ghari	Spaley Porn	Gul Kach
EDUCATION					
A poorly functioning primary school for boys	A high school for boys	A primary school for boys	A poorly functioning high school for boys	A poorly functioning primary school for girls	A primary school for boys
	Two primary schools for boys		A primary school for girls without any staff	A poorly functioning <i>Maktab</i> for boys	
	Three primary schools for girls				
HEALTH					
BHU situated at a distance from the main settlement of the village	A poorly functioning health centre		A poorly functioning basic health unit that lacks staff and facilities		
LIVESTOCK					
	A poorly functioning veterinary centre				

#### 7.4 Public safety nets

Perhaps the most glaring aspect of the state of institutions in the three sites was the absence of an effective mechanism to deliver public safety nets.

*I am widow. The tehsildar called me to his office twice. He checked the national identity cards belonging to my late husband and myself. He promised me welfare funds. But I have not received any support. I lead a miserable life. (A widow in Spaley Porn, Khyber)*

Targeting public safety nets is also important. In areas where *zakat*, the key public safety net, was actually delivered, it often did not reach deserving households.



*An old woman should be included in the zakat committee so that she can identify deserving women in the list of mustahikeen (those deserving zakat). I am willing to volunteer for this service.*  
(An old woman in Spaley Porn, Khyber)

## 7.5 Credit

People seek credit to meet expenses related to *wulwar*, weddings and funerals. They also need credit while dealing with any form of shock such as illness of household members or livestock and payment of fines under the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR). Seasonally, the greatest need for credit is from November to March and July to August during which times people also experience shortages in food.

**Table 7.2: Seasonal credit needs, food shortages and rainfall, analysed by a group of women in Zera Mali Khel, Kurram Agency**

	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul
Credit needs												
Food shortage												
Heavy rainfall												

Access to formal credit institutions was non-existent. Public and NGO micro-credit schemes were also conspicuously absent. Local people, especially the poor, rely on informal credit sources, which are often highly exploitative. Given that indebtedness is often a coping mechanism for the poor and very poor, the absence of good quality, reasonable credit facilities increases ill-being and vulnerability.

## 7.6 Law and order

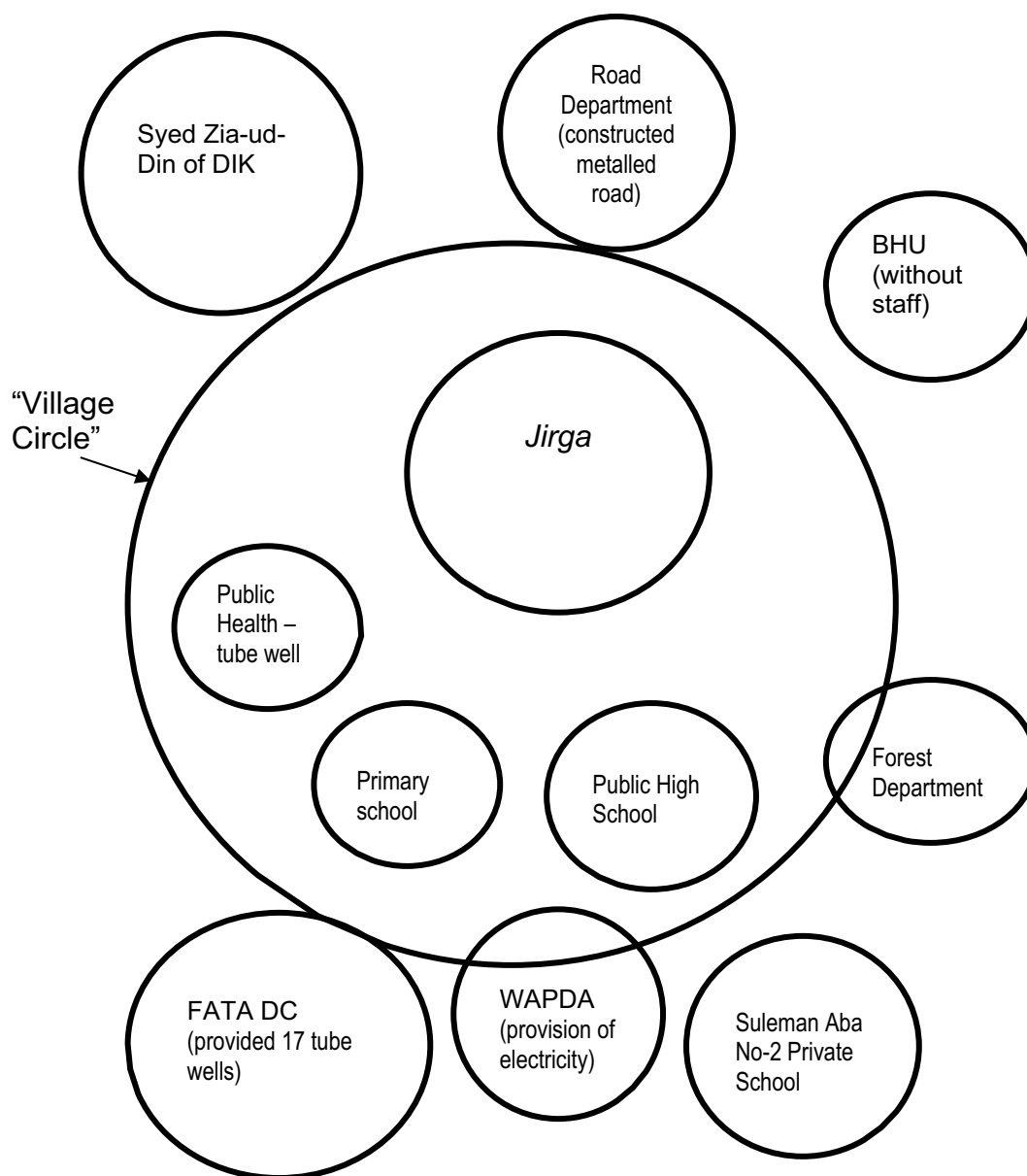
*Maliks* are given charge of law and order. As mentioned earlier, the number of *maliks* selected from each tribe follows the apportionment designated by the *nikkat* system. This makes the powerful tribes more influential, while marginalising tribes that have a lesser share and therefore fewer *maliks* from amongst them.

The political agent, the Governor's representative in the area, is also very influential. Under the 40 FCR, the political agent is given executive and judicial authority. The 40 FCR itself is a form of marginalisation of the innocent and disadvantaged as they are ensnared into punishments of individual criminals due to the practice of collective penalties and fines.

## 7.7 Justice

As discussed earlier, the local *jirga* serves as the main conflict resolution forum. The dominance of men from influential tribes in the *jirga's* structure does not enable women and the poor to access justice through this institution. Its influence in the lives of local people is, however, very clear.

**Figure 7.1: Influence of institutions and personalities on the lives of people**, analysed by a mixed group of men in Gul Kach, South Waziristan Agency



*Figure 7.1* presents an example of an *institutional map* (see *Box 1.1 for PRA methods*) created by local analysts in Gul Kach, South Waziristan Agency. The size of each circle indicates analysts' perception of that institution's relative importance in terms of its effects on their lives and livelihoods. The distance of each circle from the centre of the large 'village circle' represents its relative accessibility, largely but not solely related to physical distance.

## CHAPTER EIGHT – POLICY IMPLICATIONS

### 8.1 Introduction

As emphasised at the beginning of this report, a PPA is not just a new type of research study. It is a process, intended to lead from a better understanding of poverty and its causes to more effective policies and actions. It works by building new constituencies for anti-poverty action and promoting greater accountability of decision makers to poor people. The PPA in FATA was therefore organised as a partnership involving numerous stakeholders at different levels, including provincial government, NGOs, officials in the districts and local people in the selected PPA sites.

It is in this spirit that this chapter discusses the policy implications of the PPA. The chapter is offered as a contribution to a process of collective reflection on the action-implications of the PPA findings.

All areas of public policy and private and non-governmental effort are open to consideration in the light of the PPA results. However, the results are particularly relevant to the efforts currently under way to develop a wide-ranging dialogue about poverty reduction strategies for Pakistan and FATA.

Policy analysis has to take into account the experience of different social groups among the poor. Women's perceptions of denial of rights within social institutions (ie community, household, justice, and government service providers) that exclude, marginalise and abuse them need to be heard by policy-makers. The views and experiences of people from powerless tribes should also be given full and equal consideration during policy-making processes. The policy process in the future must look to institutionalise consultation with those whose voices are rarely heard.

In the process of developing effective anti-poverty policies and action, policy makers should focus on the following points identified by local analysts during the PPA in FATA.

### 8.2 Improved public services for health and education

*The BHU in our village is just a building. It never opened. There is no doctor or medicines. We are forced to go to Peshawar for health care. We have to spend a lot of money taken as loans to reach these facilities. (A group of women in Murad Dhand)*

Lack of health care facilities, in particular, reproductive health facilities, severely deprives local people of a basic right and by so doing erodes the levels of human capital of individuals and households in FATA. The critical status of access to health care is evident from the fact that in the six sub-sites of the PPA in FATA there were only two BHUs and one health centre. Even these pitifully inadequate elements of public service were of little value as

analysts reported that none are functioning. As access to health care facilities is in such dire straits, any discussion on the quality of health care remains purely academic.

The provision of good quality health care, including reproductive health, is a high priority for the poor. Urgent policy attention is needed to meet this critical need. Health services are required at the tertiary levels. Attention to primary health care also continues to be important.

Good quality education services are also vital to increasing levels of human capital for the poor in FATA. Facilities were generally poor, especially in the poorer sub-sites. Staff absenteeism contributes to the generally poor quality of education provided. Provision of education facilities for girls was particularly low, especially in the poorer sub-sites. No post-primary education services for girls were provided in the PPA sub-sites. Serious attention should be given to providing good quality, affordable education to children regardless of their gender, tribal identity or social status.

### **8.3 Regular supply of clean drinking water**

The acute scarcity of drinking water is a harsh reality in the lives of poor people in FATA, particularly poor women who spend many hours each day in search of drinking water. Dismally insufficient efforts made in the past have been ineffectual as the few drinking water schemes implemented over the years remain dysfunctional. Persistent drought has exacerbated the already critical shortage of drinking water, adding greater misery to the lives of people. Urgent attention is required to meet this critical need for people's basic survival.

*A drinking water scheme was constructed five years ago. It has never functioned. Women still have to go very far to fetch water. (A group of 10 poor women and 15 children, Zera Mali Khel, Kurram Agency)*

### **8.4 Sustainable and equitable use of natural resources**

As livestock rearing and agriculture continue to be the main sources of income for local people, more equitable and effective use of natural resources is essential. In particular, rangeland management and provision of irrigation and other support services for agriculture will provide employment opportunities to the poor. The use and regeneration of medicinal plants also needs attention, as they are a source of income for poor women. Additionally, the wise use of mineral resources is required as this non-renewable natural resource provides income opportunities to local people.

### **8.5 Coping with shocks – the role of effective safety nets**

Drought continues to affect the livelihoods of the poor. This and other factors indicate that the status of the poor in FATA is unlikely to improve until

significant investments are made to enhance their asset base and ensure that institutions and policies are truly pro-poor. As the poor are likely to continue to be vulnerable in the foreseeable future, the delivery of effective safety nets demands a high priority. The system of public safety nets needs to be made effective by ensuring that it is timely and is able to reach the most deserving. Policy attention is also required to support traditional forms of philanthropy that are particularly strong in the local tribal culture and continue to serve as the most viable and efficient system of safety nets for the poorest of poor in the area. In addition, attention must be given to reducing the risks of shocks occurring and mitigating the impacts. A broader view of social protection to encompass risk reduction, impact mitigation, and coping strategies is therefore necessary.

## **8.6 Gender justice**

Among those that suffer a state of ill-being in FATA, the condition of women is the worst. Women in FATA have little say in decision-making at an individual, family, or community level. They have limited access to natural resources. They often own no tangible asset such as land or a home. Inheritance rights are denied despite state and Islamic law. Women's access to opportunities for human development through education and better health care are severely restricted. The identity of women in FATA is drawn from that of their male next of kin – they do not have an identity in their own right. Lack of political, social, natural, produced, and human capitals restrict women's opportunities to achieve well-being. Moreover, widespread gender-based violence, including customary practices like *wulwar* and giving women in compensation to settle disputes, increases women's vulnerability. If anti-poverty policies and action in FATA are gender-blind, they will fail to target those that are most vulnerable.

## **8.7 Law and justice: FCR and the *jirga***

Administered directly by the federal government through the Office of the Provincial Governor of NWFP, FATA remains outside the systems of governance prevalent in the rest of NWFP, and indeed in other provinces in Pakistan. This inconsistency extends to include an idiosyncratic set of laws like the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR). There is palpable resentment against the FCR. It is essential to review the FCR and ensure that it reflects principles of fair play and justice. In addition the role of the local *jirga* as the key forum for resolving conflicts and providing justice needs to be reviewed. The PPA analysis indicates that while the *jirga* ensures easy access and prompt judgement, male heads of influential households and tribes dominate it. Its membership and procedures systematically exclude the poor and women. Mainstream and alternate systems for conflict resolution and justice provision need to be strengthened and provided so that access to justice is not denied to the traditionally marginalised segments of society.

## **8.8 Providing a level playing field – review and revision of the *nikkat* system**

The traditional *nikkat* system makes tribal identity a key determinant of livelihood prospects for the people of FATA. Those born into tribes that have greater opportunities and services apportioned to them are better-off than those born into less influential tribes. It is essential to review the *nikkat* system and its impact on poverty with a view to ensuring that resources and services are distributed on the principles of equity and social justice, not on the basis of tribal identity.

## **8.9 Policy summary**

The policy points and implications raised or re-emphasised in this chapter are summarised below along four broad lines that will contribute to a route out of poverty and fulfilment of perceived basic rights.

### **Increasing access to, and control over, a diverse range of resources and assets**

- Interventions to support and strengthen livelihoods, and reduce poverty, should not focus exclusively on one type of asset or ‘capital’
- Effective policies for managing natural resources are essential to reducing poverty in FATA
- The government should examine policies and strategies to ensure equitable access to and control over natural resources, including addressing the right of women to inherit land
- The government should examine how to provide adequate and appropriate agricultural support and irrigation services
- Policy makers should consider the potential for the sustainable use of non-agricultural natural resources, including medicinal plants and mineral resources
- Access to affordable education and healthcare must be equal for all, regardless of gender, tribe or social status
- Provision of education (including post-primary) and health care (including reproductive health care) to women and girls should be given high importance
- The quality of basic services must be monitored and improved – staff absenteeism must be eliminated
- Effective mechanisms for ensuring adequate and affordable access to safe drinking water should be examined by policy-makers

### **Reducing vulnerability and providing adequate social protection**

- The government should take a broad view of social protection to include risk reduction, impact mitigation and coping strategies

- Current formal safety net provision should be improved by increasing funding, transparency and accountability
- The government should examine other possible mechanisms for providing social protection, including support for traditional tribal mechanisms

### **Eliminating discrimination based on gender or tribal identity**

- Gender-based discrimination must be considered in all policy and strategy formulation to ensure that women benefit fully and are not marginalised further
- Both supply side and demand side constraints on the access of women to basic services must be addressed
- The practice of bride price which results in the commodification of women must be addressed
- Strong and enforceable laws must be *implemented* to eliminate domestic violence against women
- The government must ensure that minority groups are not discriminated against in the provision of social services, employment opportunities, or in the dispensation of justice
- The government should examine policies to reduce the influence of the *nikkat* system on the allocation and distribution of resources and rights, and particularly government services and programmes
- Cultural and traditional discrimination must be addressed through strong and effective policies and strategies backed by the political and judicial will to implement them fully

### **Ensuring equal access to justice regardless of gender, tribe or social status**

- The government should examine policies to ensure that affordable and fair justice for the poor and marginalised, and particularly for women, is increased
- The Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) must be seriously reviewed to eliminate the injustices which it inflicts on innocent people – for instance, whole tribes should not be punished for the crimes of individual members
- Formal institutions providing justice should be made more effective and transparent
- The government should examine strategies to prevent the exchange of women in the resolution of disputes and the enforcement of justice through informal or semi-formal institutions, for instance the *jirga*
- Policy makers should consider strategies to increase the representativeness of the *jirga* as a provider of justice – the exclusion of women and minority tribes must be addressed



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## Appendix 1: Overview of basic research questions and field methods

THEMES & ISSUES	POLICY PROBE	METHODS
<b>1. Who are the poor?</b>		
<b>Perceptions of poverty</b>		
What are the local terms for poverty and well-being?	Is the government right to adopt a multi-dimensional concept of poverty?	
Is there a separate word for vulnerability?		
Are these terms used about individuals, families, and/or communities?		
What are the characteristics of a household (in order of importance?) that lead people to say that it is either poor or not so poor?		
What are categories in between very poor and very rich that are recognised by local people?		
How are the households in the community distributed among these categories at the moment?		
Has this distribution changed over the last one year, 5 years, 10 years? If yes, why and how?	Should government and NGO programmes be mainly about reducing chronic poverty or about short-term safety nets? If both, what weight should be given to each?	
How do different groups of participants see the distribution of well-being <i>within</i> the household (male/female; old/young)?	Should anti-poverty policy be concerned about reducing gender inequality? If yes, why and how?	

<b>Livelihoods</b>		
<p>What are the main elements in people's livelihood strategies in this area?</p> <p>What assets do they have?</p> <p><b>Natural capital</b> (including common pool resources)</p> <p><b>Produced capital</b> (including physical infrastructure and credit)</p> <p><b>Human capital</b> (nutrition, health, education, local knowledge)</p> <p><b>Social capital</b> (the benefits of a dense pattern of association nb ask about membership of organisations and institutions)</p> <p><b>Political capital</b> (power or powerlessness)</p> <p>How do they use these assets in combination in a livelihood strategy?</p>	<p>Are government and NGO programmes responsive to people's livelihood issues? If yes, how?</p>	
<p>Are there any significant changes in livelihood sources over the past 20-year and 10-year periods? If yes, what are these changes, why have they occurred, and what is the impact of these changes on people's lives</p>	<p>Have government or non-government policies and programmes contributed to any of these changes? (Probe for examples)</p>	
<p>Which sources of livelihood are preferred? And why?</p>		
<p>What are periods of stress in livelihoods?</p>		
<p>What are the main type of shocks that different groups of people face?</p>		
<p>Are some kinds of livelihoods more prone to risk and shocks?</p>	<p>Can particular vulnerable groups be identified?</p>	
<p>How do households cope with these shocks?</p>		
<p>What is the role of communities, government and NGOs in helping households cope with these shocks?</p>	<p>Have government and non-government programmes reduced the risk of vulnerability to shocks? If yes, how? (Probe for examples)</p>	
<b>Becoming or ceasing to be poor</b>		
<p>Do communities/groups stay poor or rich, or do they move back and forth between these conditions?</p>		

<p>If they move back and forth, why does this happen?</p>	<p>What could be done to stop communities/groups falling into temporary poverty? What would be the gains from doing this?</p> <p>What could be done to assist communities/groups to move from poorer to better-off categories?</p>	
<p>What would be a typical story of how a community/group/individual has fallen into poverty?</p>	<p>How could these circumstances be avoided?</p>	
<p>Does vulnerability have any effect on the way people pursue their livelihoods in better times?</p>		
<p>If some people (households, groups etc) always remain poor, why is this?</p>		
<p>What would be a typical story of how a community/group/individual has succeeded in getting ahead?</p>	<p>How could these conditions be reproduced?</p>	
<p>What needs to change for the poor to have better opportunities to move out of poverty?</p>		
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Perception of rights and entitlements</b></p>		
<p>What is the local word for a right and to what things is it applied?</p> <p>Is it applied in the same way to everyone or in different ways to different groups?</p>	<p>Are these terms ever applied to publicly provided services? What minimum service standards could reasonably be claimed as rights?</p>	
<p>What is perceived to be individual rights and entitlement? Do these rights vary between different groups?</p>		
<p>What is the perceived source of this right? (social, legal, or other means)</p>		
<p>Do people feel that everyone has a right to a certain standard of living?</p>	<p>How are such minimum standards maintained and who should be responsible (the community or the state?)</p>	
<p>Do people have rights to be healthy, to be educated, and have access to justice?</p>	<p>What do people know about their legal entitlements</p>	

Do people have rights of access and ownership over natural and built resources?		
Do women have the same rights as men in these regards?		
What can women do when they feel discriminated against?	What policies or programmes help reduce/enhance discrimination against women?	
<b>2. Main changes affecting poverty and well-being</b>		
Has the natural resource base got better or worse (timescale)? If changed, how has that affected people's lives?	What factors/actions are responsible? Is anything known about environmental policies?	
Is life felt to be more secure or less? What are the main threats or improvements?	What could the authorities do to improve this situation?	
How have markets, and access to markets, changed? Markets for: labour (local, national and international), land, water, housing, and produce)	Why has this happened? Who is responsible?	
Are men and women affected differently by any of these changes?	How do people think the law governs these matters?	
Are the young and old, or different ethnic groups, affected differently?		
<b>3. Relevant resources and infrastructure, institutions, and socio-economic relationships</b>		
<b>Resources and infrastructure</b>		
What natural resources are relevant to different groups within the community and how are they prioritised?		
Do people make better or worse use of the resources they have than members of neighbouring communities?		
Is the community/group well served by public or private infrastructure (water, sanitation, electricity, gas, roads, irrigation)	Are there public, NGO or private programmes responsible for upgrading infrastructure? How are these working? How can they be improved?	
<b>Institutions</b>		

What problems do different groups within the community face and how are they prioritised?	Are government and non-government institutions/programmes addressing the problems?	
Do different groups express different problems and priorities within the community (gender/age/well-being status/minority groups)?	Is anyone addressing the problems that women or the poor rank highest? Are these concerns reflected in the priorities of community leaders?	
Which of these problems do people think they can solve themselves and which do they think they need support from outside? If outside support is needed, from whom (individuals and institutions) is it expected?	Is needed external support available? If not, why not?	
How are problems needing help from outside prioritised?		
For different groups, what are the most important formal/informal government/non-government institutions within or outside the community that influence people's lives positively and negatively?	Are there any recommendations for further improvements?	
How do different groups rate the effectiveness of these institutions?		
Which institutions do people think they have some control or influence over?		
During a financial crisis (losing a job, family illness, crop failure), what institutions do people turn to? How are they ranked in terms of preference?	Are government programmes mentioned? If so, how are they seen and how could they be improved?	
What are the perceived government and non-government safety nets for the vulnerable? How are they ranked in terms of preference?	Are there any safety nets provided by government or NGO programmes? If yes, what are they, do they reach the poor, and do the vulnerable consider them to be effective?	
What public and private health care facilities are available in the community?	How can health care facilities be improved at different levels: primary, tertiary, etc.	
Which is the most important basic health provider (government and non-government) for different groups in the community?		

What is an ideal government basic health unit?		
Which is the most important reproductive health provider (government and non-government) for different groups in the community?		
What public and private education facilities are available in the community?		
Which is the most important primary education provider (government and non-government) for different groups in the community? Why?		
What is an ideal government primary school?		
How do people rate the quality of health and education services?	How can the quality of the facilities be improved?	
What are the differences between public and private health and education services?	How important are private service providers for the poor?	
What institutions provide credit? How do different groups in the community rank them in order of effectiveness?	Are there any government or NGO programmes that provide similar services? How do they compare? Do credit providers reach the poor?	
What other services are provided/not provided in the area (agriculture, livestock, irrigation)	What incentives do service providers face? If they have any discretion in allocating scarce goods or services, how do they decide who gets what?	
Who provides security in the area? And justice? Are the services satisfactory? If not, how can they be improved?	Who ought to provide security and justice in the area?	
<b>Socio-economic and gender relationships</b>		
Are women better or worse off today compared to the past? In what ways?	What areas still need to be addressed by government?	
Are women of different groups (differentiated by class, age, ethnicity, religion, etc.) better or worse off today compared to the past? In what ways?		

Are there any changes in the roles men and women (of different groups) have traditionally played over the past two or three decades. Why have these changes occurred? What are the impacts of these changes?		
Who wields real power in the area? How do ordinary benefit/not benefit from this?		
Is land an important source of power?		
What is the pattern of land ownership in the community?	Should government policy be concerned with the redistribution of land (land reform)?	
Are there any types of socio-economic relationships that make it difficult to move out of poverty (child labour, bonded labour)?	What are the policy implications here?	
Are some people or groups left out of society or excluded from community life or decision making (social exclusion)? If yes, who is left out, why and how?	What can be done to address social exclusion?	
Is the community well organised compared with its neighbours? If yes, why and how are they organized? (Probe for examples)		
Does it have many organisations that people can decide to join or not join (social capital)?		
What is the relationship of these organizations? Are they linked? If yes, do they collectively serve as a social network in the community?	How can social networks be strengthened in a way that they help the poor?	
What kind of transfers and support systems work within these social networks?	How can government support and not undermine these networks?	
Are there any elements/events/traditions that promote a bonding in the community as a whole and provide a sense of solidarity? (social cohesion)		
In what forms and actions is social cohesion expressed?		
Is there more or less social cohesion than in the past? If there are changes, what are these, how and why have they occurred?		



Is there more or less crime than in the past?	Is the maintenance of law and order an issue for the poor?	
Is there conflict between groups in the community?		